

AN HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Late Troubles
DURING THE
WARS of PARIS.
CONTAINING

The Material Transactions, and Private
Intrigues practised by the Rebels and
Taytors, for obtaining the Regency
and Government.

Shewing the Endeavours used by them
to maintain a Confederacy disadvanta-
geous to the Kings Authority.

With the manner of their imprisoning the
Court, the Nobility, and the People.

And an Account of the *Parliaments* Proceed-
ings, in declaring them Enemies to the
King and Government.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Henry Chapman, near Stanbone-
Court at Charing-Cross. MDCLXXXVI.

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AN HISTORICAL
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 Late Troubles
 DURING THE
 REIGN OF CHARLES
 THE FIRST

The Material Transactions and Private
 History of the said King and
 his Family, from the Beginning
 of his Majesty's first Marriage
 and Government.



By JOHN BURNET, Secretary
 to the Council, and the
 Privy Chamber.

Printed for Henry C. at the
 Gunpowder Square, in
 the City of London.

*An Historical Account of the
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Wars of Paris: Containing
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ctised by the Rebels and
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THE Persecution which I suffered during the Authority of Cardinal *Richelieu*, being ended with his Life, I thought of returning to Court. The King's Sickness, and the little Inclination he had to trust his Children and State with the Queen, made me hope that I should quickly find considerable occasions of serving her, and giving her at that juncture of Affairs, the same marks of Fidelity which she had received from me in all the Occurrences, wherein her Interests, and those of *Madam de Cheverense*, were contrary to

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Cardinal

Cardinal *Richelieu's*. When I came to Court, I found it as submissive to his Will after his Death, as it had been during his Life; his Kindred and his Creatures there had the same Advantages which he had procured them; and by an effect of his Fortune (whereof you'll find very few Examples) the King (who hated him, and wish'd his Ruine) was forced, not only to dissemble it, but also to Authorize the Disposall, which Cardinal *Richelieu* made in his Will, of the principal Charges, and most important Places of his Kingdom. He also chose Cardinal *Mazarin* to succeed him in the Government of Affairs, and so was assured of Reigning much more absolutely after his Death, than the King his Master could do all the thirty three Years that he enjoy'd the Crown. Notwithstanding the King's Sicknes being desperate, there was some probability that things would ere long change, and that the Queen, or * Monsieur, coming to the Regency, would be reveng'd upon the Remains of Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the Injuries which they had received from him.

* The King's Brother, so called.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, Monsieur *Chavigny*, and Monsieur *de Noyers*, who then had

had the greatest share in the management of Affairs, resolved to prevent this Mischief, and to make use of the Power which they had over the King's Mind, to oblige him to declare the Queen Regent, and to Reconcile themselves to her by this Service, which ought to appear so much the more considerable to the Queen, as she believed the King far from any such thoughts, by reason of the little Inclination he alwayes entertained for her, and because of the *League*, which he believed she yet had with the *Spaniards*, by the means of *Madam de Chevreuse*, who had fled into *Spain*, and was then at *Brussels*.

Monfieur de Noyers was the first who gave the Queen hopes that they might win the King, by his Confessor, to Establish her Regent, thinking thereby to tye her strictly to him, and to exclude *Monfieur de Chavigny*, whom she most favoured in *Cardinal Richelieu's* Life-time; but *Monfieur de Noyers* soon found himself far from his designs; for the Confessor had Orders to withdraw, and he himself was afterwards turn'd out. It seem'd to me that this Change did not at all lessen the Queens Hopes, and that she expected from *Cardinal Maza-*

rin, and Monsieur *de Chavigny*, the same Service which Monsieur *de Noyers* designed to pay her; both of them every day gave her all the assurances of their Fidelity that she could desire, and she expected a proof thereof, when the Kings Sickness, growing to such a height that there remained no hopes of Cure, gave them an opportunity of proposing to him to regulate every thing whilst his Health would permit him, to choose a Form of Government himself, which might exclude from the management of Affairs all those whom he held suspected.

This Proposition, altho it was apparently against the Queens Interests, did notwithstanding seem to him too favourable to Her. He could not consent to declare her Regent, and also could not resolve to share the Authority betwixt her and Monsieur. The Intelligences which he suspected her guilty of, and the Pardon which he had but just before granted to Monsieur for the Treaty of *Spain*, held him in an Irresolution which he could not have overcome, if the conditions of the Declaration, which Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monsieur *de Chavigny* proposed to him, had not furnished him with an expedient to diminish the

the Queens Power, and render her in some manner Dependent upon the Council, which he intended to establish. Notwithstanding the Queen and Monsieur, who had had too many Testimonies of the King's Aversion, and, who almost equally suspected that he would exclude them from the management of Affairs, sought all manner of ways to acquire it. I was informed by Monsieur *de Chavigny* himself, That being sent to the King from the Queen, to beg his Pardon for all that she had ever done, and also, for having displeased him in her Conduct, beseeching him particularly not to believe that she had any hand in the business of *Chalais*, or, that she had the least design of Marrying Monsieur after *Chalais* had killed the King: To which, he answered Monsieur *Chavigny* (without being moved) In the condition I am in I ought to Pardon her, but I am not bound to believe her. Every one presently then thought they had a Right to pretend to the Regency, to the Exclusion of one another; and if Monsieur was not long of that mind, he at least believed that he should be declared Regent with the Queen. The hopes of the Court, and of all the Kingdom,

were too different, and all the State (which had almost equally suffered during the Favour of Cardinal Richelieu) expected a Change with too great an Impatience not to receive with joy a Turn from which every one hoped an Advantage. The different Interests of the chief Men in the Kingdom, and the most considerable in the Parliament, obliged them to side either with the Queen or Monsieur; and if the Interests which they made for them understood did not break out more, it was because the King's Health, which seemed something repaired, made them fearful he should be advertised of their Practices, and make the provident cares which they took to establish their Authority after his Death, to pass for a Crime. It was in this juncture, that I believed it would be of Importance to the Queen to be assured of the Duke
The now Prince of Conde. *d'Anguien*: She approved of the Proposal I made of gaining him to her side, and being a very particular Friend of *Caligny's*, in whom the Duke *d'Anguien* wholly confided, I represented to them both the Advantages that would accrue to the Queen and the Duke *d'Anguien*, if united, and that

that besides the particular *Interest* of opposing the Authority of Monsieur; that of the *State* also obliged them to it. This Proposition was advantageous enough to the Duke of Anguien, to make him readily accept it; therefore he ordered me to endeavour all I could to bring it about; and because the Commerce I had with him might perhaps be suspected by the King or Monsieur, especially at a time when they had but just before given him the Command of the Army, and that by all means it was of great importance to keep it secret, he desir'd me to give the Queens Answers only to *Coligny*; and that we should be the only Witnesses of their Intelligence. There were no Articles of Agreement in writing; *Coligny* and my self were intrusted with their Promises, which were; That the Queen would grant the Duke of Anguien the favour of being prefer'd before Monsieur, not only by the marks of her Esteem and Confidence, but also in all the Employs from which she could exclude Monsieur; by such Expedients agreed upon betwixt them as might not engage him to an open Breach with the Queen. The Duke of Anguien promised on his part to be inseparably united to

the Queens Interests, and make his Addresses to her alone for all the favours he desired at Court. The Duke d'Anguien departed soon after to Command the Army in *Flanders*, and give a Beginning to those great things which he so gloriously accomplished. The King, whose Sickness augmented daily, being willing to give at the end of his Life some marks of Clemency (either out of Devotion, or to testify to the World, That Cardinal *Richelieu* was more to blame than himself for all the Violences which were done since the Queen Mothers disgrace) consented, That the most considerable of those who had been Persecuted, should return to Court, to which he was the more willingly disposed, because the Ministers, foreseeing many disorders, endeavoured to oblige People of Quality to secure themselves against all that might happen in a Revolution like this that threaten'd them.

Almost all that had been banished the Court returned, and as there were many who were bound to the Queen, (either by the Services they had done her, or by that Bond with which Disgrace ordinarily unites persecuted Persons) there were few of them, who had not so good

an Opinion of their Services, as to expect a Recompence proportionable to their Ambition; and many believed that the Queen having promised them every thing, would continue the same Opinion of them in her Sovereign Authority, which she had in her Disgrace,

The Duke *de Beaufort* was the Man who entertained the greatest hopes: he had of a long time been most particularly devoted to the Queens Interests, and she gave him so publick a Proof of her Confidence in him, in making choice of him to take care of the Dauphin and the Duke of *Anjou*, one day when they thought the King was a Dying, that it was not without reason that they began to consider his Credit, and to find a great deal of likelihood in the Opinion he endeavoured to give them of it.

The Bishop of *Beauvais* (who was the only Servant of the Queens, whom Cardinal *Richelieu* thought too inconsiderable to put away from her, and who by his assiduity had found an opportunity of Ruining almost all those whom she had a kindness for) was of Opinion, that he ought not to oppose the Duke
of

of *Beaufort's* Favour, and therefore desired to strike in with him to ruine the Contrivances of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who began to get ground; they perswaded themselves that they could easily accomplish their Designs, not only from the Opinion they had of their Credit, and the experience which the Bishop had made, how easily he had ruined such as were more considerable to the Queen by their Services than Cardinal *Mazarin*, but also, because being Cardinal *Richelieu's* Creature, they thought that this Relation alone would Exclude him, and that the Queen had too publickly condemned the Conduct of Cardinal *Richelieu*, to continue in the management of Affairs one who was put in by him, and who was the Author of the Declaration which the King had just before issued out, whereat the Queen seemed displeased to the last Degree.

This Confidence made the Duke de *Beaufort* and the Bishop of *Beauvais*, neglect many Precautions, during the latter end of the King's Life, which would have been necessary to them after his Death, and the Queen also was at this time not enough resolved to receive the
Impres-

Impressions which they would have given her.

She concealed her mind from me less than from any body else, because I, having had no Interests but hers, she was not jealous that I would joyn with any Party but what she her self should choose.

'Twas she, who desired me to be the Duke *de Beaufort's* Friend in a Quarrel with Marshal *de la Meilleray*; and ordered me to see Cardinal *Mazarin*, that she might avoid the occasion of being complained of by the King, who was perswaded, that she hindred her Servants from visiting those whom he had confided in. So that I, not being at all suspected by her, might know more easily than any body, what Impression the Reasons of both Parties made upon her Mind. She began to fear the imperious and haughty Humor of the Duke *de Beaufort*, who not contenting himself to uphold the Pretensions of the Duke *de Vendosme* his Father, to the Government of *Britany*, upheld also the Pretensions of all them, who had suffered under the Authority of Cardinal *Richelieu*; thereby

thereby not only to engage all People of Condition, for their particular Interests, in a Cause, which to them seemeth Just, but also to have a pretence of striking at Cardinal *Mazarin*, and by filling the Principal Offices of the State, to make Creatures, and give such resplendent marks of his Favour, that the cause thereof might be attributed to all, that was most capable of satisfying his Ambition and Vanity.

On the other side, the Queen considered, that after having trusted her Children with the Duke *de Beaufort*, it would be a fickleness, which all the World would Condemn, to see her pass, in so short a time, from one extrem to the other, without any apparent Reason.

Mazarin's and *Chavigny's* Fidelity were not known to her enough, to be assured, that they had no hand in the Declaration, and thus finding doubts on all sides, it was not easie for her to take any Resolution, which she should not repent of afterwards. Notwithstanding the King's Death obliged her to it; and the World quickly learnt that

that Cardinal *Mazarin's* cares had had the success he wished; for, at a time when 'twas thought that the Queen look'd upon him as the Author of the Declaration, all the displeasure fell upon Monsieur *Chavigny*, and whether Cardinal *Mazarin* was innocent, or that he justifi'd himself at his Friends cost, who was, in appearance, no more guilty then himself, which soever it was, he, in fine, stay'd in the Council.

But, as I do not pretend to write all the particulars of what pass'd at this time, and that what I do at present is rather to keep in my Memory some Circumstances which I have seen, for which some of my Friends have had a Curiosity, than to make them publick; I will be content to report only what concerns my self, or at least the things whereof I have been a Witness. Soon after the Kings Death, it was easie for me to know the encrease of the Cardinals Credit, and the diminution of the Duke *de Beaufort's*; both appeared in the confidence the Queen owned she had in the Cardinal, since he, being directly opposite to the Duke, the Power of the one must entirely ruine the other.

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I Notwithstanding the Court was yet very much divided, and they stayed for the return of Madam de Cheverense, as the decision of all, they did not look upon her as one who would be contented to support one of the two Parties, but as one that would certainly ruine that which depended least upon her; I had less reason than others had to judge so advantageously of her Authority.

The Queen, who had alwayes testified to me the Friendship she had for her, had for some time spoken to me of it with Coldness enough, and the uncertainty I saw her in, whether she should let her return to Court, made me doubt no longer if the Bishop of Beauvais's all Offices had not made as great an Impression against her, as against all the rest whom he had attempted to ruine.

The Queen had already ordered me to visit Cardinal Mazarin, and though she approved the Declaration I made to him, That I could not be his Friend and Servant, but so far as I saw him adhered to the Queens Service, and whilst he did in great and little things what might

might be expected from an honest man, and one worthy the Employ he had; yet I knew that she with'd I had spoke to him with less reserve, and had promised him every thing as easily as many others, who were the more readily engaged to do so, because they were resolved not to stand to any thing, but so far as their Interest oblig'd them: notwithstanding she appeared satisfied with my Visit, and testified, That she desired nothing more of me than what I had done.

At this time there was notice of *Madam de Cheverense's* return into *France*, and the Queen seemed to me to be more unresolved than ever about her return to Court, not as if I believe she was detained by any difficulty there was in it to grant her this favour, but that Cardinal *Alexis* should mediate to obtain it for her, and that *Madam de Cheverense* should be obliged to him for having moved the Queen to overcome those reasons which kept her out, which were a particular Clause in the Declaration, and a strange aversion the King declared he had against her, when upon his Death-bed.

I asked leave of the Queen to go to meet Madam de Cheveruse, which she the more willingly granted me because she thought I might dispose her to desire the Cardinal's Friendship, since I saw very well that it was one of the things the Queen most desired.

Montagne, who was more for the Cardinal's Interest, was sent to her to make her Propositions, which were in consequence of some others which were made her in *Flanders* by the same Man, two or three Months before the King's Death.

I met with Madam de Cheveruse at *Brye*, and *Montagne*, who arrived there some time before me, had all he desired to make his Designs take effect. She presently told me, That she suspected him, either because she really wanted Confidence in him, or because she believed I would be unwilling to share hers with a man whom I did not know my self, and whom I had no great reason to esteem upon the report of others.

She desired me not to speak to her before him, but because it imported her to be informed of the state of the Court, and

and how the Queen stood inclin'd, and because I saw she would undoubtedly mistake both, if she judged by her own knowledge, and by the thoughts the Queen once had of her, I thought my self obliged to represent to her how things seemed to me to be, and to assure her, That the Queens thoughts being far different from what she had seen them, it was necessary to take other measures than those she had hitherto acted by.

That the Queen was entirely resolved to make use of Cardinal *Mazarin*, That it was hard to judge otherwise than by events, whether that was good or bad Council, because he being Cardinal *Richelieu's* Creature, and united to his Relations, it was to be fear'd he would authorize the same Maxims, but withal, That he having had no hand in his Violences, and being almost the only Man who had Knowledge in foreign Affairs, I doubted if in the necessity the Queen and State was in for one capable to manage them, she could easily be prevail'd with to exclude Cardinal *Mazarin*; besides, That I saw no body whose Capacity or Fidelity was so well known

that one would wish him settled in an Employment so difficult and important as this.

Therefore it was my opinion, that she should not by any means signify to the Queen, that she returned to her Court with a design to Govern her, because it was apparent, that her enemies made use of this pretext to her prejudice.

That she must by her care and complaisance work her self up to the same pitch she once was at, and that then joining with Madam Senecy, Madam Haute-*fort*, and the rest of those in whom the Queen confided (who had all given me their word, that they would entirely adhere to her Interests) she would be in a condition to ruine or protect the Cardinal according as his preservation or ruine would be beneficial to the publick.

Madam *de Chevreuse* told me that she approved of my advice, and promised me positively to follow it; she came to the Queen with this Resolution; and although she was received with many marks of Friendship, I could without great difficulty observe a difference in the joy she had to see her, from what she formerly had, when she spoke to me of her, and I perceived by cer-
tain

tain defects, she took notice of in her person, that the ill offices, some had done her, had made too great an impression. *Madam de Chevreuse* notwithstanding slighted them all, and thought that her presence would in a moment take off all that her enemies had done against her when she was absent.

She was strengthened in this opinion by the Duke de *Beaufort*, and they both believed, that being united, they might easily ruin Cardinal *Mazarin*, before he had time to fix himself.

This thought made *Madam Chevreuse* receive all the advances of Cardinal *Mazarin*, as so many marks of his weakness, and believe, that she answered them enough, if she did not openly declare she designed his ruine, but only to procure it by establishing Monsieur *Chateau-neuf* in the management of Affairs.

She thought her self also obliged to uphold my Interest, and seeing the Queen designing to confer upon me some considerable settlement, she was very urgent to procure for me the Government of *Haute de Grace*, which was in the Duke de *Richlieu*'s hands, that by getting me the Estate of this Fa-

mily, she might begin its persecution and ruine.

- In the mean time Cardinal *Mazarin* seeing very well that the Queen was not longer in a condition to undertake an affair of this importance, without making him a party in it, thought it enough to hinder it, by saying, that he with all submission would approve of what the Queen should think best, but that he thought himself obliged, not only in gratitude, which he owed that family, but also for the Queens Interest to represent to her the reasons she had to uphold the House of *Richlieu*, that he wished always that she would approve them, but that he did not think he had reason to complain if his advice was not followed.

He did not declare himself so openly upon the return of *Chasteau-neuf*; either because he believed him so ruined in the Queens favor, that he thought he might give her this mark of his moderation without any danger, or because she was far enough from restoring him to the management of affairs on her own head, without his making some endeavors for it; but in fine, he was contented to let the Chancellor act, who (being obliged for

for his own preservation to keep out Monsieur *Chasteau-neuf*, (who could not return to Court without taking the Seals from him) had taken all imaginable care to make the Queen sure by the means of one of his Sisters, who was a Nun at *Pontoise*, and was also Sister to that *Mountain* I have already mentioned.

In the interim all these delays vexed Madam *de Chevreuse* to the last degree; she look'd upon them not only as Cardinal *Mazarin's* Artifices, (who by this accustom'd the Queen not to grant her immediately what she desir'd,) but as they diminish'd, in the opinion of the World, the Reputation, she would give it of her credit; she oftentimes let the Queen know she was dissatisfied, and in her complaints always intermingled some sharp thing against Cardinal *Mazarin*; she could not endure to speak to him, for what she desired of the Queen, and she made it appear, that she had rather receive no favours, than owe a part of them to the Cardinals mediation. He on the contrary, who saw, that this conduct of Madam *de Chevreuse* did more

perswade the Queen that she desired to govern her, than all that he had hitherto made use of to make her believe it, took very different ways to ruine her.

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The War of Paris.

IT is almost impossible to write a very just Relation of the past Troubles, because those, who caused them, having acted out of ill Principles, took care to keep them secret to the World, for fear Posterity should accuse them of having sacrificed their Countrys Happiness, to their private Interests; besides it's very difficult for him, that writes the affairs of his own Age, to keep his Passions so pure, as not to abandon himself to hatred; or flattery, which are the ordinary shelves that shipwreck Truth; as to my self, I design to make an impartial Rehearsal of what is past, and leave to the Readers an entire liberty to praise, or to condemn.

France in the Year, 1635. declared War against the House of *Austria*, and Fortune favoured so great an undertaking

taking with so much success, that she was victorious wherever she bore her Arms. We pierc'd into the heart of *Flanders*, having subdu'd all the River of *Lys*, we extended our Conquests in *Germany* as far as the *Danube*, by the famous Battel at *Norlingue*; *Milan* was the Theater of the War with *Italy*, and on the side of *Spain* our Conquests had not been bounded by *Rassilion* and *Catalonia*, but for *Lerida*, which was the fatal terme thereof.

These Prosperities, which begun in the late Kings time, continued with more splendor for the first five years of the Regency, which were so famous for brave and glorious Victories, that it was a wonder, how they could gain such considerable advantages over Strangers, in the time of a Kings Minority, usually expos'd to Civil and Domestick Wars. But as it is the fate of our Nation to grow weary of its own happiness, and to fight against itself, when it finds no opposition without, or because God hath set to Empires certain bounds of Power, and duration, which are beyond the jurisdiction of Men, we lost in one Campaign, by our Divisions, the greatest part of the Conquests, which we

we had gain'd in many years; but before I enter into a Narration of these Troubles, it will be seasonable to tell you how things were govern'd in the Cabinet Council.

The Kings Council in the Queens Regency were the Duke d'Orleans, *Monsieur le Prince*, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, the rest of the Ministers, as the Chancellor, *Monsieur de Longueville*, the Superintendent *Chavigny* and *Servien*, had little Authority there.

The principal Affairs were ruled by the Council of the Princes, and the Cardinal, which last had the oversight of all, because of the confidence the Queen reposed in him.

The Princes of the Blood were strongly united to the Queen, and this Union produced the publick happiness, inso-much that by this all the hopes of a change being taken away (to which our Nation hath a natural propensity) every one aspired by honourable services to make his Fortune. Cardinal *Mazarin* kept up this right Understanding betwixt them, it being useful to his preservation; and when one of the Princes aspired to be greater, he qualified him by the opposition of the other,
and

and by thus ballancing their Power, he rendred his own, without comparifon, the moft refpected.

Befides he had procur'd the Duke *d'Orleans* the Government of *Languedoc*, and had made the Abbot *de la Reviere*, his chief Minifter, fo abfolutely his Creature, that he look'd upon all ways (befides the Cardinals favor) to his advancement to the Cardinalship, as dangerous as Precipices.

As to the Duke *d'Anguien*, he fatisfied his Ambition with the Government of *Champaine* and *Stenay*, and the Command of the Armies, which he procur'd for him; add, that the Cardinal, being of a nature mild enough, was the lefs to be apprehended, and the Princes by intermeddling lefs in the management of Affairs, might throw all upon him without Envy.

Now, as he forefaw, that the Union of the Princes and their Authority would weaken the Queens, he fkilfully put into their heads fufpitions of jealoufie and diftruff one of another, which he fcattered again feafonably for fear they fhould come to a breach; for being the Author of their differences, it was eafie for him to be the Arbitrator of their recon-

reconciliation, and derive the whole merit thereof upon himself. As to the other Nobles of the Kingdom, since they had no Power, their good or ill will was not at all regarded.

This was the condition of the Court, till events breaking this Union, so necessary to the State, brought upon it most fatal mischiefs.

Before I relate them, I must take notice of the Prince of Condé's death (happening just before these troubles) which was so much the more considerable, because it was the common opinion, that if he had liv'd, he had prevented them by his Prudence and Authority, which gave a check to the Ministers, and was revered by the Parliament.

The Union of these Powers was so solid a Pledge of the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, that it gave the Ministers too much confidence, and encouraged *Emery*, Superintendent over the Kings Revenue, to levy great Taxes. Now because this Conduct, although coloured with a Foreign War, and the Defence of the State, was introduced in the time of Cardinal *Richlieu's* Ministry, and was but a consequence of that, it
will

will not be impertinent to speak there of. This Minister, whose absolute Polity had violated the antient Laws of the Kingdom, to establish the immoderate Authority of his Master, which he was the dispenser of, look'd upon all the Rules of this State as forced Concessions, and bounds imposed on the power of Kings, rather than a solid Foundation of governing well; and because his very long Administration was authorized with great success, during the life of of the late King, he quite chang'd all the forms of Justice, and the Kings Revenues, and introduced the Royal Will for the Sovereign Tribunal of the Lives and Estates of Men.

• This so violent method of Governing continued till his death, and the King (surviving him but a few months) left to the Queen with the Regency the establishment of his Orders for the Taxes which seemed necessary to maintain the charges of the War.

Her Majesty, being in the beginning of her Regency constrained to be expensively Liberal, drain'd her Exchequer; whereupon *Every* was obliged to put in practice all the Expedients, his Wit could invent, without being restrained

strained either by Justice, or pity, or the despair into which he might drive the People:

To this end, after having consumed the Peoples Estates by new Subsidies, he extends his Arts as far as the Cities, Taxes Rich and Poor, Creates new Offices, Seizes the Publick Rents, forc'd them to give him Credit, prepares more new Edicts, and by this rigorous imposition upon Estates in every kind, drove the Companies, Commonalties and Corporations into a secret Revolt. In fine, all Springs being drain'd dry, he would have seiz'd the Revenues of the Chambers of the Courts of Aids, and the great Council, who complained to the Parliament, which thereupon made the famous *Arrest d'Union*.

This Act was a signal to all the discontented; the Renters, the Treasurers of *France*, the Kings Secretaries, the Assessors, the Officers of the
 * *Impost of Taxes, and of the * Gabelle;*
Salt in In fine, people of all condi-
France. tions, repaired thither, exposing their Grievs to the Parliament, demanding reparation.

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The Names of the Farmers, and of *Emery* fell under a publick Curse, every one cry'd out against the violent exaction of the Customers, the unbounded Power of the Intendants, the Cruelty of the Soldiers, the rigorous force used to the poor people, by the selling of their Goods, and the imprisonment of their Persons, and the heavy weighty Taxes; in a word, against this oppression, as great to the last degree, destructive of the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all the Kings Subjects.

The Parliament, appearing sensible of the publick miseries, received the Petitions of the afflicted People, offered to do them Justice, and by professing that they bore a part in their sufferings, gained their affections to that degree, that they looked upon them as their Revenging and Redeeming Gods.

I don't pretend to give a recital of the Assemblies of the Chambers, of the matters they treated of there, of the Counsels and Results of their Conferences, and of the Remonstrances of the Company carried to their Majesties by the chief President *Males*, there are Memoirs enough filled therewith, it suffices

sices to say, that there were three Parties in the Parliament.

The First was that of the *Frondeurs*, a Name given in Raillery to those that were against the *Court*. These People being Zealous to stop the course of the present Calamities, had the same Object, though from a different Motive, that those had, who were Interested by their Fortune, or particular Hatred against the Principal Minister.

The Second Party were the *Mazarins*, who were perswaded, that they ow'd a Blind Obedience to the *Court*; some out of Conscience to maintain the Peace of the State, others out of Respect to the Obligations they had to the Ministers, or Interest with the Men in Business.

And the Last were such, as Condemn'd the Violence of the First, yet approved not the Coldness of the Second, but kept themselves betwixt both, to act upon occasion, either according to their Interest, or their Duty.

Thus the Parliament was divided, the greatest part whereof (who at the first had no love for Innovations) yet for want of Experience in the Affairs

of the World , were very glad to be Commissioners for Regulating the Abuses, that were Crept into the Government of the State, and to see themselves Mediators betwixt the Court and the People.

It was insinuated into them, that this Imployment gave consideration and lustre to their Persons; that Charity oblig'd them to succor the Distressed in their Pressing Necessities; and that the Duty of their Charges, which were instituted to Moderate the Extreame Power of Kings, and Oppose their Irregularities, prompted them to it; That they ought to know, that the Ministers of *France*, were, of late years, perswaded, that it was to Reign Precariously, if their Power extended only to permitted things; That the Laws are stifled by Fear and Justice, by Force. That, to our Misery, our late Kings left the Management of the State so much to them, that they became themselves a Prey to their Passions; That the time is come when they must revive their Antient Orders, and that Harmonious Relation which ought to be betwixt a Lawful Command, and a Reasonable Obedience: That for this end the
People

People Invoked their Justice as the only Refuge to prevent their extreme Oppression; That so Holy a Commission, approved by Heaven, and followed with Publick Acclamations, would Skreen them from all fear; or if there should be danger, that it is the property of Eminent Vertue to signalise it self in a Tempest, rather than in a Calm; and, that Death, which is common to all Men, is distinguish'd only by Oblivion, or by Glory.

These Venemous Discourses made so much the greater Impressions on their Minds, because Men have a Natural Inclination to believe whatever flatters their Greatness; so that they suffer'd themselves to be charm'd with the fine words of Tutelar Gods of their Countrey, and the Restorers of Publick Liberty.

He that infus'd this Poyson into them, with most Artifice, was *Longueil*, Counsellor in the Great Chamber, who, being push'd on with a Spirit of Ambition, to advance his Fortune in the Publick Divisions, was in Private Clubs for some years, prepared, with some of his Confederates, to Combat the Power of the Favorites, under the co-

lor of the Kingdoms Good, insomuch, that in the birth and progress of these Troubles, he was Consulted as the Oracle of the *Erondeurs*, so long as he was constant to his Party.

Notwithstanding, the Parliament pretending to apply themselves to Reform the State, met every day, They had already suppressed the New Edicts and Laws, Revoked the Intendants of the Provinces, and Restored the Treasurers of *France*, and the General Assessors, to the Execution of their Offices : and further pretended, to exact an Account how the last Levies, since the Regency, were Employ'd, and insensibly Attack'd the Cardinals Administration.

On the other side, the Court omitted nothing that might be serviceable to dissolve their Meetings; the Duke of *Orleans*, the Chief President, and the President of *Mefmes* represented the consequence thereof to be prejudicial to the General Peace; the Enemies fancied to themselves a Triumph, which should repair their former Losses; and notwithstanding the King had Authorised all the Acts which the Company had Proposed to him, yet the Mild
Methods

Methods were ill-represented, and pass'd for Marks of weakness and fear, which made the Cardinals Enemies more active and eager to push at him.

At this time *Monsieur le Prince* commanded the Kings Army in *Flanders*; he had taken *Ipres*, but whilst he Besieg'd that, the *Spaniard* surpriz'd *Courtray*, and gained other small advantages: But as his Genius is great and successful in War, he found the *Spanish* Army on the 21 of *August* on the Plains of *Arras*, and *Lens*, Fought it, and obtain'd a Famous Victory.

The Duke *de Chatillion*, who had bravely signaliz'd himself there, came from him, to bring the News to Court.

The King's Council look'd upon this great success as an extraordinary Providence, which they might use, to stop the course of the Disorders which time and patience increased, and resolved to secure such of the Parliament as were the most active, chiefly *Broussel* Councillor in the Great Chamber, a person of antient probity, of competent abilities, and one who was grown old in hatred to the Favorites.

This Man, inspir'd with his own Opinions, and the Perswasions of *Long-veil*, and others, who had gained credit with him; first gave the most rigorous Counsels, which were followed by the Cabal of the *Frondeurs*, insomuch, that his Name made a noise in the Assemblies of the Chambers, and he was made Head of this Party in the Parliament; being the more in Credit with them, because his Age and Poverty plac'd him beyond the Strokes of Envy.

Now seeing the People, who stirr'd not from the Palace, when inform'd that he so mightily concern'd himself for their Relief, lov'd him extreamly, and gave him the Gilded Title of their Father; to secure him must needs be a bold action; and as it might be very advantageous, so it might be of dangerous consequence (as we shall see hereafter.) Nevertheless it was happily executed, by *Cummings*, the Morning that they Sung the *Te Deum* at *Noter dame* Church, for the Victory at *Lens*, while the Company of the Guards were ranked on each side of the Street, and was conducted out of the City with *Blanc-menil*, to be transmitted to.

Two hours after the Report of *Brussels* being taken was spread abroad, the most considerable Burgeffes came to the *Palais Royal*, where they dissembled the excess of the Disorder; and those who were afraid to go thither, had the complaisance to tell the Queen, That it was only some Rascally Fellows, whom they would quickly reduce into better order.

The Coadjutor of *Paris*, who, till then, did not appear upon the Stage, and kept himself within the bounds of his Profession, was to offer his Service to the Queen, from whom he conceal'd nothing of what pass'd, but his Offers and Advice were both rejected: he apparently employ'd the Dignity of his Character, and his Perswasions, to calm the Storms, and after came to the *Palais Royal* to give an Account of the Sediti-on; where, having not received the Satisfaction he expected, he conceived a hatred against the Cardinal, which, with his being refused to Treat for the Government of *Paris*, was the Cause (or at least the Pretence) that he so much Interested himself for the Faction opposite to the Court.

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Notwithstanding, the Queen, who is naturally incapable of Fear, commanded the Marshals of *La Meilleray*, and the *Hospital*, to take Horse with their Friends, to ride through the Streets, and restrain the People by some Example of Justice ; but they found the Mischief so great, that they could not execute their Orders. So that they were reduc'd to hope, that the Night might appease the Tumult (as it did,) but the morning after, an Accident kindled the Fire, which was almost quench'd.

The Chancellor going to the *Palais*, to carry the Kings Declaration, which forbad the Chambers to Assemble, was perceived by some of the Mutinous Rabble : his Person odious to the Publick, and the Errand he was sent on, animated a Croud of People, to run after his Coach, which they forc'd to fly to the *Hotel de Luines*, where they sought him, to Sacrifice (as they call'd him) This *Mercenary Soul*, the Protector of the Impositions, laid on so many ruin'd People, by the Edicts which he had Sealed.

Notice of the Condition he was in was brought to the *Palais Royal*, from whence

whence the Marshal de La Meillerie came with some Companies of the Guards, who Discharg'd upon the Seditious, and deliver'd the Chancellor; but this was a Signal for the City to take up Arms; for, at the same time, the People shut up their Shops, put Chains cross the Streets, and Barricades almost to the *Palais Royal*.

During this uproar the Parliament consulted about the Imprisonment of their Members, with the more courage, because they saw the People Rise in favor of them; and, without doubt, if the Chancellor had come to the *Palais* with his Commission, they would have detain'd him as Reprisal.

It was Order'd, by common consent, That the Parliament should instantly go in a Body to beseech their Majesties to set at Liberty their Members. They found the People up in Armes in the Streets, some Threatning them, if they brought not *Broussel* back; others Conjuring them to fear nothing, and that they would die for their Preservation; and all together Protested, that they would not lay down their Armes till they saw the Father of their Country.

The

The Parliament, after having been introduced into the Great Closet in the *Palais Royal*, where their Majesties were, accompanied with the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of *Conty*, Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Nobility of the Realm, and the Ministers of State, the Chief President Represented, how much the Company was concerned for the Imprisonment of their Fellow Members, and shew'd their Humble Addresses for their Liberty, which were Seconded with the Vows of a Hundred Thousand Armed Men, who demanded Monsieur *Broussel*.

The Queen Answered, That she wonder'd they should keep such a stin about a simple Counsellor, when the Parliament said not a word against the Imprisonment of the late Prince.

The Chief President, and the President of *Mesmes* Replied, That in the Posture things were now, there was no time to deliberate, and that there was an absolute necessity of submitting to the Peoples will, who would not hearken to the Magistrate, had lost all Respect and Obedience, and, in fine, were the Masters.

The Queen Answer'd, That she would remit nothing of her Severity; that ha-

ving

having in her hand the Sacred Depositum of the King her Sons Authority, she would never consent to its Violation, by yielding to the Passions of the Multitude; that the Parliament should Remonstrate to the Seditious their Duty; that those who had rais'd the Mutiny should endeavor to lay it; and that one day the King would know how to make a difference betwixt the Loyal, and the Enemies of his Crown.

These Gentlemen were still urgent, but in vain; Her Majesty always continuing in an absolute Denyal, so that they return'd to the Palais to consider upon the Refusal. When they came to the first Barricade, the Rabble Askt them, If they had obtain'd Broussel's Liberty? and seeing by their Countenances that they had not, in a Rage sent them back to the Palais Royal, Threatning, that if it was not Granted them in two hours, they would go in Armes to Beg it of the Queen, and would exterminate the Ministers who were Authors of the Sedition.

These Gentlemen return'd, to Represent what they had seen and heard; and added, That since they could not overcome their Disobedience, neither by Reason

Reason, nor Force, She must submit, unless she would hazard the Crown.

Upon this they call'd a Council, wherein the Duke of Orleans and the Cardinal Advis'd, contrary to the Queens Opinion, *That Liberty should be granted to the Prisoners*; which they immediately declared to the Parliament, and the Parliament to the People; who, notwithstanding all the Assurances could be given them, were so jealous, that they would not faithfully perform what was promised, that they remained still in Armes, expecting the Arrival of *Broussel*; who, no sooner appeared, but was Saluted by all the Musqueteers, and Accompanied with Publick Shouts to the place where he and *Blanmenil* received the Compliments of the Company, and from thence was conducted by the People to his Lodging, with demonstrations of a Joy so great, as if every one in the Liberty of *Brussel* had that day gain'd a Glorious Victory.

This is the Famous Day of the Barri-
cades, which was caused not so much
out of an Affection the Publick had
to *Broussel*. as out of an Inveterate Ha-
tred, which they, for some years, enter-
tain'd against the Government: a hatred
so

so great, that they only wanted an opportunity to shew it. It is not easie to determine, whether this Counsel of detaining the Prisoners was safe, according to the Rules of Policy; for, on one side, if we consider the Rudeness, not to say Violence, of the People, so great, that an Attempt upon Royal Majesty was to be feared; it will seem, that Prudence could not advise any other Method but Mildness, since they wanted Power to reduce them: On the other side, to Acquiesce to their Fury, would give a Mortal Wound to the Princes Authority, and, as it were, prepared a Triumph for the People over Sovereign Dignity: Upon this some said, *That it would have been much better to have carried the King to St. Germans, there to expect all sorts of events, rather than to Prostitute Royal Dignity to the Capriciousness of a Multitude.* But the Duke of Orleans and the Cardinal, naturally Friends to Moderate Councils, thought of nothing but delivering themselves from present danger. However it be, it is evident, the Parliament from this day got ground of the Court; and a great many People of Quality, either out of Interest, or a desire of Innovation,

Innovation, solemnly engaged for the
ruine of the *Chief Minister*.

Now seeing he was, during all the
Troubles, the Object of Publick Invect-
ives, and both Pens and Tongues took
the greatest Liberty to defame him; it
will not be amiss to report the best
founded Accusations against him, and
also his just defences. 'Twas objected
against *Cardinal Mazarin*, That it was
a strange and shameful thing to *France*,
that a Stranger, and one who by Birth
was a Subject of *Spain*, should be its
Principal Minister, even with a Power
so absolute, that he was the Arbiter of
War and Peace; that of his own head
he distributed Honors, Offices, Benefi-
ces, in fine, all sorts of Favors, not with
respect to Merit, or Services, or Quali-
ty, but to the devotion they paid his
Person, which was the true qualificati-
on to obtain them. That for his Am-
bition, he had carried the Armes of
France into *Tuscany*, at an extreme
charge, and to no advantage; and
that he would not have assisted the
Duke of *Guise* in the Revolt of *Na-
ples*, but for his own Interests. He
would not accept the Treaty of Peace
concluded on at *Munster*, and eluded it
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To these Accusations it was Answered, That it is no new thing for strangers to have a share in the Government of the State, witness the Cardinals of *Lorraine*, and *Birague*, the Duke of *Nevers*; and the Marshal of *Rets*; That *Cardinal Mazarin* was chosen Cardinal by the Interest of *France*, after he had done it considerable Services; that Cardinal *Richlieu* who knew his Parts, destin'd him his Successor in the Ministry, foreseeing the Advantages would accrew to the State thereby. That the late King, who was a competent Judge of Men, after the *Cardinal's* Death, made him President of the Council; That the Queen coming to the Regency, meerly out of Necessity, and in conformity to the late Kings Will, continued him so. That this choice was approved by all the Wise Men in the Kingdom, and also the Allies of the Crown; that having answered by his Services the Queens expectation, she could not abandon him without failing in her Duty to the State, and Gratitude to so useful a Servant. Moreover, that all the Favors were disposed of with the consent of the Princes, and that he was so far from favoring

favoring those who were devoted to the Interests of the Court, that it was a common complaint, that in the distribution, he had, before all others, consider'd the Servants of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince, and that all Affairs were propos'd in Council, and finally resolv'd on there. That the Accusation of his opposing the Conclusion of the Peace, is but an Idle Fancy; since, beside the General, his own particular Interest oblig'd him to crown a Negotiation glorious for so many great Events, by a Treaty, which would have Eternis'd him in the Peoples Affections: but, the Truth is, the *Spaniards* always oppos'd it, which he calls the Duke of *Longueville*, and even the Princes to witness, That the Expedition of *Orbitel*, and *Portolongone* was the most advantageous that *France* could make, to bring the Enemies sooner to a ready Peace, because these places kept in subjection the King of *Spain's* States, which are in *Italy*: That the Independance which the Duke of *Guise* affected in *Naples*; kept him from soliciting the Cardinal to succor him. That Marshal *Gassion* would have establish'd a particular Government in *Flanders*, very

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little

little depending upon the Court ; and that Monsieur the Prince never complained that he did not assist him in *Catalonia* , and in all his Campaigns , as much as he could. That he was constrained to seek for Supplies by Edicts , to furnish the Charges of the War. That notwithstanding the Taxes were diminish'd , and that time had but too much verifi'd , that this Transportation of Money into *Italy* , was a Lye , invented to Defame him ; as to the rest , That he had managed with success enough the Interests of the Princes of *Europe* for Twenty years ; and that if the good Intelligence betwixt *France* and the *United Provinces* had ceased , it was by the corruption of some particular persons , who had been Suborned by Money from *Spain* ; as to the Administration of the State , he had follow'd Cardinal *Richlieu's* Maxims , excepting only in the Cruelty of Punishments ; And that if he had been obliged to promise more then he gave , it was because the number of those that serve in *France* is great , and of pretenders yet much greater. That the State was never in greater prosperity then during his Ministry : and that if in the Great
Expeditions

Expeditions, the Honor of the Execution was due to the Generals, that of the Design belonged to him; that *France* would have yet preserv'd its Peace, if every one had conspired to it according to his Duty, if the People had not been drawn from their Obedience by the suggestion of Male-Contents; or rather if the Parliament, which ought to be an Example of Obedience, had not open'd and led them the way to Rebellion. That the Post he is now in hath been always exposed to the strokes of hatred and envy in all States; and that it is not an extraordinary thing, if they one while tax his Ambition, another while his Inability; that at least he is happy in this, that Calumny, in its most Poysonous Design, hath not thrown the least Suspition upon his Fidelity.

During the time of this Commotion, Three things hapned, which were of unlucky consequence.

The *First* was, The Duke of *Beaufort's* escape out of the Dungeon of *Vincennes*, where he was Prisoner from the beginning of the Regency, for

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Reason.

Reasons which are not within the compass of my Subject; but because he held a considerable Place in the Wars by the Affections of the People of *Paris*, it is not impertinent to Remark it.

The *Second* was that upon a Quarrel that hapned at *Fenillians*, betwixt the Life-Guard, and the Sergeants of the Grand Provost, the Marquis *de Gesures*, behaved himself so, as displeased the Cardinal, who sent him order to retire, and *Charvoſt* and *Chaudenier* to undergo the punishment of the Baton, who refused it; upon which their Offices were given to *Gerſe* and *Nouailles*; and thereby the Friends and Kindred of the disgraced were incensed against the Cardinal, at a time, when no body spared him, either in Deed, or Word.

The *Third* was, The Imprisonment of *Chavigny*, which deserves a particular Relation.

This Minister, so considerable in the late Kings Reign, was united with Cardinal *Mazarine*, by their mutual Interests, which is the only Bond at Court,
and

and the most certain Rule of Friendship ; after Cardinal *Richlieu*'s death, the King divided his Affairs betwixt them two, and the *Denoyers*, whom they ruin'd presently, and remained in a strict Union till the Regency. The Queen, who had been Persecuted by the late Cardinal *Richlieu*, took an Aversion to *Chavigny*, and wish'd his Ruine. Cardinal *Mazarin*, either by good Fortune, or by his Address, or rather by the Interposition of my Lord *Montague*, and *Beringhen*, was not only continued near her Majesty, but the entire Management of Affairs conferr'd upon him : Now though *Chavigny* expected to be greatly protected by him, in his fall, yet he endeavored only to mitigate it, and to defend him from falling into absolute ruine, because Favor as well as Love, cannot endure to be divided, or to admit of a Rival ; They devested his Father of his superintendency, and himself of the Office of Principal Secretary of State ; only they left him the vain Title of Minister, with admittance into the Council, but without any Employment, or Respect. This is all the Cardinal gave to his antient Friendship, to the strict obli-

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gations

gations wherein Men often play the Bankrupts in the World. *Chavigny* nettled with this ill usage (which he dissembled for five years, with very much prudence) design'd to make use of the present conjunctures , and to be reveng'd , by raising himself upon the Cardinals ruin ; to this end judging , that Monsieur *le Prince* , after the Battle at *Lens* , could do what he would at Court, would give Laws to the Court : he declared his thoughts, concerning the present state of Affairs, to the Duke of *Chatillion* , at his return from the Army, whom he found dispos'd to hearken to him, from a hatred he had to the Cardinal, who made him languish with the expectation of a Marshal Staff : but, as Prudence ordinarily sleeps, and unbends it self in the excess of our Passions, he intrusted the same secret to *Pervault*, but when he found that it took not as he desired , he Repented of it , and proved to his cost , that he, to whom you tell your secret , becomes Master of your Liberty. *Pervault* having reason to fear the Genius of *Chavigny*, if he came near the Prince, told all their discourse to the Cardinal, who caused him to be made Prisoner by

by *Drouet*, in the Castle of *Vincennes*, whereof he was Governor. This Imprisonment gave occasion to the Publick (who knew not the secret) to tax the Cardinals Ingratitude; and his Enemies in the Parliament represented this Action in very black colors.

About this time they put *Emery* out of the Exchequer, which was but an ineffective Remedy, because the mischief had made too great a Progress to stop in his person, and the pretence of Reforming the State was chang'd into a firm Resolution to ruine the Cardinal. For, as the Authority of Princes and Ministers, is kept up only by Fear, or Admiration, his weakness rais'd him Enemies, whom he never offended. *Brussels*, *Charton*, and *Viole*, did, in effect, point him out in the Assembly of the Chambers; but *Blanmevil* the President of *Nonjon* nam'd him, and there was order'd a solemn Deputation to the Duke of *Orleans*, to Monsieur the Prince, and to the Prince of *Conty*, to beseech them to joyn with the Company, and bring effective Remedies to the Mischiefs which threatned the State.

The Court was at *Ruel* at the time of this Declaration against the Cardinal,

who was touch'd to the quick with it, to see himself necessitated to throw himself into the Armes of Monsieur *le Prince*, and to secure his shaking fortune by his support: The Prince, who could not enjoy the fruit of his Victory at the Battle of *Lens*, because of the Disorders of *Paris*, was reduc'd to bound his Conquests with the taking of *Furves*, where good Fortune preserved him from the Shot of a Musquet, which he received in the Trenches, for it hit him on the Back, in a place where his Belt was doubled, which deadned the stroak of the Bullet. Immediately after it was taken, he had orders to return.

At this time he was look'd upon by all the People with admiration; for besides that this new Laurel, which he had acquir'd by his pure Valor, gave a great addition to his Glory, he had no hand in the present troubles, and both Parties look'd upon him as their Defender, or at least as the Arbitrator of their Differences. It also look'd as if Fortune invited him to entertain more ambitious designs, because the ebbing state of the Court, and Publick Admiration, equally concurr'd to his Advancement;

Advancement ; but as he was naturally inclin'd to keep within the bounds of Duty, he was not very industrious to manage the General Love. He admitted into his confidence two persons of Quality and Merit, who were of opposite opinions, *viz.* the Duke of *Chatillon*, and Marshal *Gramount* ; The first, whose Family and Person were strictly united to the Prince, advis'd him to declare himself for the Parliament, or at least to make himself Moderator of the Differences with all the Neutrality possible ; The other, by all sorts of interests, bound to be on the Courts side, employed his perswasions to induce him to be of his Party. Upon this occasion he did violence to his Nature, which is something averse to such temperate methods, and Wrote, together with the Duke of *Orleans*, to the Parliament, to desire them to send Deputies to *St. Germain*, that they might put an end to the Divisions in a Conference. So many Relations give an account of what pass'd there, that it would be a superfluous Repetition, and I need only to remark, that the Deputies would not consent that the Cardinal should assist at it ; and, that at the first interview,

interview, the Prince was hot upon *Nole*, for having first propounded the Liberty of *Chavigny*, because he was of opinion, that they should decide the Matters in Controversie, and agree upon Rules necessary for the Drawing up of the Kings Declaration, by vertue whereof *Chavigny* would recover his Liberty, as it happen'd by this Authentick Declaration of the 28th of *October*.

After this Declaration, which gave some respite to the Publick Divisions, there happen'd some Court Disputes, which, for a while, disturb'd the Union that was in the Council, and thus it was. From the beginning of the Regency, the Abbot *de la Riviere* possessing absolutely the favor of the Duke of *Orleans*, aim'd at a Cardinals Cap; and *Mazarin*, to make him more sure to his Interests, gave him more hopes of it, the execution whereof he still evaded, judging it not at all convenient to have a person of the same Dignity with himself in the King's Council, but from time to time he procur'd him Benefices to preserve his good Will; nevertheless at the Birth of these troubles, the Abbot urged him so vehemently,

mently, that he could not avoid giving him the Nomination of *France* for the Cap, because he stood in need of the Duke of *Orlean's* Protection : but he believed, that either there would be oppositions at *Rome*, which he might underhand foment, or else that time would produce opportunities at Court, to hinder it from taking effect. The Abbot sends his Agent to his Holiness, who gave him assurance of his Promotion to the first that fell ; and in expectation of this he brought his Master to preserve the Cardinals so much tossed Fortune from Shipwrack. When he saw himself at the height of his desires, the Prince of *Conty*, who was not yet declared for the Cardinals Cap, any more then as it was an extraordinary Promotion, more honorable for his Birth, begg'd, at the perswasion of the Court, the King's Nomination for the first. It could not be refus'd him, and the competition of *Rivier* was too weak to dispute the Preference. So that not being able to blame the Prince of *Conty*, he taxes the Cardinal, detests his Ingratitude, and obliges the Duke of *Orleans* not to speak to him any more.

Now

Now, as he thought of nothing but the means whereby he might break off the Nomination of the Prince of *Conty*; He attempts to do it by Monsieur the Prince, and propos'd to him by *Vinevil*, that in case he would take off his Brother from desiring the Cap, his Royal Highness would procure him what Government soever he would. He answer'd *Vinevil*, That he had an Estate, an Offices great enough to maintain him with his Services and Fidelity; that if he had more, he might justly become suspected of the King, who would aim at nothing so much, as to ruine him, if he became Great; and that his Fortune was in a condition, that wanted nothing but Moderation in his desires. I thought these so vertuous words worthy to be reported, to shew, how much Inconstant Man is with himself, and how much his Mind is subject to change.

During this Division the King came from *St. Germain* to *Paris*, where the Duke of *Orleans* gave continual Marks of his anger against the Cardinal, he went very little to the *Palais Royal*; there was nothing resolv'd on in Council;
all

all the Male-contents repair'd to him; he hearkned to the *Frondeurs* of the Parliament; in fine, the Quarrel must have either ended in the greatest violence, or be accommodated. The Marshal *d'Estree*, and Senators, persons of credit, took upon them to try if they could bring both to an agreement; They represented to the Duke of *Orleance*, that this misunderstanding betwixt the Queen and him could not continue longer without ruining the State; and that the cause of it was dishonorable to his Royal Highness; that Monsieur the Prince would gain a notable Advantage by it, because he would be obliged in Honor to his Family, and his own Greatness; to take the Queen into his Protection, and she to fly to him as her only refuge; that he being of a hot nature, would reduce things to the greatest extremity; and that it was already talk'd that he was coming with the Regiment of Guards to force the Palace of *Orleans*, to reduce that company of Seditious which were about his Person: They Remonstrated to *la Riviere*, if he would pretend, for his private Interest, to make a division in the Royal Family,

and

and cause a Civil War; If it was reasonable that he should be offended, because a Prince of the Blood was preferred before him? That he would become the object of the hatred and vengeance of Monsieur the Prince, and of all his Family; that the load he laid upon his Master, was too weighty, that he would quickly be weary of it; or that if he broke off with him, his favor would become a prey to others; and as to the Cardinalship, that the Prince of *Conty* would either give it over, or the *Court* demand two *Caps* for the First Promotion.

The two *Commissioners* of the *Court* found the Minds of the Duke de *Orleans*, and de la *Riviere* very well disposed to understand their Reasons, for Time had done much towards an Accommodation, and this Minister was already persuaded by his own fears, that things ought to return to the same degree of concord, that they were at before, and so they did upon this Agreement.

The Declaration agreed upon by the Kings Council and the *Deputies* of the

the Sovereign Courts seem'd to secure the Repose of the State, and to quench the least sparks of Fire which threatned it; but the Ambition of those who hated the present Government, and desired Innovations, had taken too deep root in their Minds to keep within the bounds of Mildness; So that they omitted no endeavor, or practise, whereby they might incite the Parliament and People to disturb it. They represented to them, that this great business of the Barricadoes, this Victory of Subjects over their Sovereign, this Diminution of Royal Authority, the Publick Investives against the Cardinal, would never be forgotten. That his want of Power made him at present prudently dissemble his Resentments, but that they would break out with so much the greater violence: That it was never heard, that so powerful a Minister was ever attack'd, without being ruin'd to all intents and purposes: that he staves only for favorable occasions; a Division in the Parliament, a change in the People, the King's Majority; in a word, the Benefit of Opportunity, which cannot be wanting to him who absolutely disposes of the Royal Power; that
therefore

therefore they must make use of the present junctures, if they would get rid of so dangerous an Enemy. That the Duke of Orleans was a sober Man, and one too knowing in the Affairs of the World, to oppose an universal concurrence; That Monsieur *le Prince* will bethink himself, that the true Refuge for Princes of the Blood, and his own Reputation against the jealousy of Favorites, must be the Publick Love of the People; so that at the most, to please the Queen, they will appear to defend her, but weakly, and with reservedness.

Lastly, That they must consider, that the Declaration which was extorted from the Court, when in a weak condition, and which will be of force no longer, then while it continues so, is a Necessity, not a Sincere Friendship, in the heart of the Queen, who but waits the Moment to Revenge her self.

Those who dispersed such Discourses in Parliament, and who declared most against the Court, were after *Broussel* and *Longueil*, the President of *Noujon* and *Blanmenil*, Enemies to the Cardinal, because

because of the disgrace of the Bishop of *Beauvray* their Uncle, and because their Cousin was refused to be made the Coadjutor of this Bishoprick, and *Viole*, because they broke the promise they made him to be Chancellour to the Queen, but the person that at this time by the instances of his friend in Parliament, and his Emissaries among the people, laboured with most success to make a party to their Association, was the Coadjutour of *Paris*. This man who had joyned too many excellent, both Natural and acquired Qualities, that defect which the Corruption of minds makes to pass for a Vertue, was tainted with an extreme ambition, and an unbounded desire of increasing his Fortune, and Reputation by all sorts of ways, so that the Constancie of his undaunted Courage, and mighty Genius found a sad and unhappy object, which was the troubles of the State; and a Compassion to the Capital City, whereof he was Archbishop. Now judging that this Party could not Subsist with out a Head, he cast his eyes upon Monsieur *le Prince*, whom he Assaulted with such strong reasons, that it was reported, he was persuaded by them, or at least seem'd to be

so, even to give his word to *Bronffel*, and *Longueil* to put himself at the Head of them. But whether it was that he did not engage his word, and that the Duke of *Chatillion*, who Negotiated for him with the *Frondeurs*, had advanced so farr on his own head without his Orders, or rather that the Prince had expressly given it to hinder them from addressing themselves to the Duke of *Orleans*, during his discontent, however it was, he undeceived those who suspected Him of Favouring his Desire.

The Coadjutor seeing himself disappointed, having a Head of this Importance, turn'd his hopes upon the Prince of *Conty*, whose Birth alone was of Great Consequence in the Kingdom. This Prince was dissatisfied because he was not one of the Council, and much more because the Prince set so little esteem upon him. But being entirely Governed by the Dutches of *Longueil* his Sister, (who was nettled at the Indifference which Monsieur the Prince shew'd to her) he abandon'd himself without reserve to her Opinions. This Princess, who had a great hand

hand in the sequel of Affairs, had all the advantages of Wit, and Beauty to so high a Degree, and with so many charms, and so generally liked, that nature seem'd to have been pleased to frame an accomplish'd and perfect Work. But a Blemish, which is rarely or never seen in a Princess of this merit, something darkened these fair Qualities, which was far from prescribing to those who had a particular Adoration for her, she transformed her self so very much into their sentiments that she was not sensible of her own.

At this time the Prince *de Marillac* had a place in her Affections, who joyn-
ing his ambition to his Love, inspired her with a desire of intermeddling in Affairs, tho she had a natural Aversion to it, and made use of the passion she had to be reveng'd on Monsieur the Prince, to set the Prince of *Conty* against him. The Coadjutour was happy in his project, to see the Brother and Sister disposed to Unite themselves with the *Frondeurs*, by a Treaty into which the Duke of *Longueville* was drawn, being push'd on with the Hopes that the Parliament would bring about his ill

grounded pretensions to be a Prince of the Blood.

The Court seeing that the Designs of their Enemies, prevailed to that Height as openly to demand the Cardinals ruin, put all their hope in the Duke of *Orleans*, and Monsieur *le Prince*, and thought that their Union, with their Majesties would reduce them into Order. Now because the mischief had taken such deep root, that there was required a great deal of force to pluck it up, they judg'd that the temperate Nature of the Duke of *Orleans*, was not so proper, as that of Monsieur *le Prince*; which was incapable of all Moderation: Add to this, that his Reputation in the Wars, the Splendor of his Victories, the Forces of his Troops would strike terrour into peoples minds, so that they applyed themselves particularly to gain him, to espouse a cause so just. The Queen to this end made use of very pressing perswasions, to Wit, Tears, and most affectionate words, telling him that she look'd upon him as her Third Son. The Cardinal promised him that he would all his life depend upon his Will. The King himself

em-

bracing him; told him that he recommended to him the safety of his State and Person. So that the Court consider'd him, as the Principal Defender of its Fortune: but those who determin'd him, were Marshal *Gramont*, and *le Tellier*; by these or the like Arguments, they represented to him, that by little and little, the Parliament would Usurp the whole Authority: That instead of bounding their Ambition within the Declaration of the 28 *October*. they would not only be judges of the Affairs of War, but also took upon themselves a power to turn out the Minister, that at the same time they might set up a new one of their own chusing, and further that frequent Mutations are Pernicious to Kingdoms, nay that it is sometimes better to suffer an ill one, than to change him; that it is ten thousand to one, but if an usurpation, (the like whereof was never heard of till now) be tolerated, they will assault priviledg'd persons and nothing be sacred enough to secure it from Violation; by this licentiousness, that the Counsellors would be in a fine Condition, if they should impose Laws upon Kings and the Princes of the Blood, miserable if they received them. That

this new practice shock'd the Monarchy, which is absolute and independant, and contrary to the Constitutions of *France*, and even to the Institutions of the Parliament ; that if there be abuses in the Kingdom, they ought to be reformed by the Assemblies of the General States ; and not by the Decrees of a Company, whose suffrages are rather counted than weighed, That when ever the Parliament went beyond their Duty, they were severely corrected, sometimes by the late King, sometimes by *Henry* the Fourth, and *Charles* the Ninth, and other Kings their Predecessors, upon occasions less dangerous than this. That Great Kingdoms cannot be supported by remiss Councils, but must give a proof of their Courage and strength, and that the justice of Kings consists in their Power. That He the Prince, was interested in the person of the Cardinal, to oppose an enterprize which tends to the Destruction of the Royal Family ; and that if the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Highness would not stand in the Gap, the Queen would be forc'd to go with her Children, to Implore the Help of the Princes that were Allies to the Crown : Besides, that Monsieur le Prince

Prince must think that the Innovations made by the Parliament, since the Declaration wounded the Establishment of the Peace.

These Discourses, which represented the thing very lively, made such an Impression on his Spirit, that he would not hear of a neutrality, without ever so much as thinking that he might lose the peoples Affection. It is certain, that Great Minds, like this of Monsieur le Prince, produce great Vertues, but are eminent also for great Defects: By an Invincible Excess of Passion, he ruin'd all the Advantages Fortune had, even to Envy, added to his person, which were such, that the would have surpass'd the glory of the greatest men in former Ages, if Piety, Justice, and Solidity had been answerable to that Excessive Valour, that incredible Constancy in Adversities, and that sparkling Wit which were remarkable in him. Monsieur le Prince might have rendred himself ador'd by all the World, if he could have manag'd himself with a design to have treated his Affairs with calmness; but instead of this he was forc'd by his rash conduct to have re-

course to means, which brought him to strange Extremities. He went with the Duke of *Orleans* to the Parliament, and push'd on by his ill Fate, as soon as *Vi-ole* had invoked the *Holy Spirit* to illuminate the Princes in their Consideration of the Cardinals Conduct, Monsieur *le Prince* rose up and bid him hold his tongue; this inconsiderately raised a murmuring amongst the Young Counsellors, with which he was fir'd into a passion, and threatned them with his hands and words. At this time he lost the Affection of the Company, and when this Action was spread abroad, the esteem his Victories gain'd him was chang'd into Fear, and the love of his Person into Hatred, not to say Exceration, from which he recovered not but by particular good Fortune.

And now being interested in a quarrel of his own, as well as of the Courts, he hearkned to all propositions that were made him for reducing the Parliament: They tell him that the speediest and surest way was to besiege *Paris*, that by stoping all the Avenues, the people would be starv'd in three Market days, and so rise against the Parliament,

ment, and accuse them of being the Authors of all their miseries. In fine that the Parisians were without any to head them, without Soldiers and accustomed to soft ease; he relish'd these Reasons, which seemed strong to him, because animated by his Fury, to which nothing was impossible; so that he made himself the Head of the enterprise to besiege *Paris*, under the command of the Duke of *Orleans*, who at first opposed this design; but the solicitations of the Queen, the perswasions of the Abbot *de la Riviere*, and the willful Resolution of Monsieur *le Prince*, overruled his own Opinion, and the contrary advice of the Dutchesse of *Orleans*: This being resolved on, Monsieur *le Prince* and the Marshal *de la Meilleraye*, proposed (that they might gain their end more speedily) to seize upon the Isle of *St. Louis*, the Port *St. Antonie*, the *Arsenal*, and the *Bastile*, and also to put their Majesties in the *Bastile*; but either because this proposition was not well enough grounded, or because they were afraid of exposing the Kings person, they rather chose to quit *Paris*, than to besiege it.

After

After his Majesty had solemnized the Festival of the Epiphany, at the Marshal *Gramont's* House, the King retired to the Cardinal's Palace, from whence he departed the next day at three a Clock in the Morning, with the Queen, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and all the Court, except *Madam de Longueil*, to go to *St. Germain's*, whither the Nobility and all the Ministers likewise came the same day, and presently in a Council that was held, the Blocking up of *Paris* was Publish'd and talk'd of by all the Court.

This Departure, or rather Escape, was joyful News to the Factionous, and was by no means approved of by wise Men, who esteem'd it unbecoming Sovereign Dignity, which Princes ought to be jealous of, since the splendor of the name of King is the chief thing that awes the People into Respect.

The *Parisians* were not so much startled as was imagined they would be: on the contrary, as if they had taken courage from the condition they were in, they declared, That they were prepared for all the Consequences that threatned them; and fear did not keep
them

them from railing against the Cardinal, Monsieur le Prince, the Queen, and all those whom they believed to have advised this departure, which they called a Rape of the King.

The Parliament appeared less constant in this accident, because they foresaw the Consequences of it better, and after the first Assembly, they deputed some of the Kings Council to carry their Submissions and Offers, which, though very advantageous, yet were sent back without being heard, so much was all the Court possessed with a vain hope that the *Parisians* would yield too with a blind obedience upon the first Alarm of the Siege; but they were quickly undeceived, for the day after (which was the eighth of *January*) that the King's Council had made their Report, so that they could no longer question the design of the Court, the Parliament declared the Cardinal an Enemy to the Government, and issued out Commissions to levy Soldiers; the Companies voluntarily taxed themselves, they laid in abundance of Provisions, and the people with a great deal of ardor stood to defend the City: So true is it that Fear
often-

ostentimes begets Courage, and that nothing Arms the Hand more powerfully than Despair.

Notwithstanding Monsieur le Prince, with six or seven thousand Men, who were the remainder of the Army of the last Campaign, block'd up *Paris*, possessing themselves of *Laigny*, *Corbeil*, *Saint Cloud*, *St. Denis*, and *Charenton*, a thing Posterity will admire, but never believe, That he should by his Conduct and Vigilance block up the greatest and most populous City in *Europe*, when at the same time there were so many Princes and Lords in it, with an Army stronger than his. Now as the Court never wants Malecontents, the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, his three Sons, the Duke of *Brisac*, and the Marquis *de la Boulaye*, first offered themselves to the Parliament, who had no sooner installed the Duke *d'Elbeuf* in the Office of General of the Army, but news was brought them that the Prince *de Conty* and the Duke *de Longueil*, accompanied with the Prince *de Marillac* and *Normonstier*, were that night privately come from *St. Germain*, and lighted at the *Hotel de Longueil*, who came to declare themselves for the *Parisians*,

risans, according to the Agreement which they had made with the Coadjutor. This their sudden arrival gave occasion to some controversy, which was ended by the nomination of the Prince of *Conty* for Generalissimo, and of the Duke *d'Elbeuf* for General, with whom the Duke *de Bouillon* and Marshal *de la Motte* were joined in equal power. Monsieur *de Longueil* would not take any Employment, but of assisting the Prince of *Conty* by his Counsels, esteeming himself above the last, and not able to be equal to the first. The Prince of *Conty* had great difficulty to justify the sincerity of his Intentions, because the Publick, who were ignorant of the misunderstanding betwixt him and Monsieur *le Prince*, who was the real head of the Enterprize against *Paris*, could not think themselves secure of him; even *Provost*, a Counsellor of the great Chamber, gave himself the liberty (as if this mutual Confederation against their Duty inspired him with boldness) to be disrespectful to a Prince of the Blood, Nevertheless Madam *de Longueville* was required to live in the *Hotel de Ville*, to be an Hostage for the Fidelity of her Brother

her and Husband to the People, who naturally distrust great Men, because they are ordinarily the Victims of their Interest.

This departure of Monsieur *le Prince de Conty*, and of Monsieur *de Longueuil*, from *St. Germain*, was a mighty surprise in it self, but became much greater by raising a jealousy that Monsieur *le Prince* was of the Party, which put the Queen and the Cardinal into extraordinary fears, though they were quickly removed by his return from *Charenton*. He storm'd and was incens'd against them with the greater heat in this quarrel, that he might be reveng'd on his Relations, who he believed ought to depend absolutely on his Will. 'Twas said, That at this time the Cardinal resolv'd to leave *France*, thinking it impossible for him to be safe in the midst of all these Tempests, and destitute of support. But the Prince encourag'd him, and engag'd his honour to the Queen, That he would perish, or bring him back to *Paris* triumphant over his Enemies. In the mean time the Party in the City got no small strength by the Declaration of a Prince of the Blood,

whose

whose quality was of great consequence in the Kingdom, and of another Prince who was almost absolute in his Government of *Normandy*; the Marshal *de la Motte* also rendred himself considerable in the Army, and the Duke of *Bouillion* incomparably more so by the great Knowledge he had in the affairs of the World, and his strict Alliance with his Brother Marshal *Turenne*, who commanding at this time the Army in *Germany*, it was presumed would Sacrifice his Duty to the raising of his Family, and to the Peak he had against the Cardinal. Monsieur le Prince indeed, who took these two Brothers for his Friends, wrote to the Duke *de Bouillion*, fearing lest he should think that the retreat of the Prince *de Conty*, and of *Longueil*, was contrived with his consent, and therefore he was willing to undeceive him, and conjured him to return to *St. Germain*, where he would procure him all the satisfaction possible to his Interests. Monsieur *de Bouillion* shewed this Letter to the Parliament, and the Ministers being informed, That Marshal *Turenne* stood ill affected, the King and Monsieur le Prince, who had great Interest amongst the Troops in *Germany*,

Germany, wrote to the Colonels to observe his Commands no further, and to abandon him, which took effect and was the safety of the Court.

At this time likewise the Duke of *Beaufort* arrived at *Paris*: He had absconded in the Provinces beyond the *Loire* since his escape out of *Vincennes*, and found this favourable occasion to set him up again in the World. He came to offer his service to the Parliament, who cleared him from the Accusation of having conspired against the Life of Cardinal *Mazarin*, admitted him Peer of *France*, and made him one of their Generals. Now although his Genius was none of the most raised, yet his Presence, his Language, and his popular Air, with a Conduct *adroit* enough, gain'd him the love of the People of *Paris*, and the rather, because they thought him irreconcilable to the Cardinal for imprisoning him, from which he would never change till he was necessitated by the revolution of Affairs to be reconciled unto him. In the mean time the King's Army possessed all the Posts about *Paris*, and though the Parliament were more in number, yet the Generals never
made

made an attempt to open a Passage; insomuch that the Provisions came in with difficulty only by *Brie*; for Monsieur le Prince could not put a Garrison in *Brie Comte Robert*, without dividing his Forces; and had also quitted *Charenton*, which the Prince de *Conty* possessed himself of, fortified, and put into it 3000 Men under the Command of *Caulen*.

This made Monsieur le Prince resolve to attack this Post, which secured the Provisions of the Parisians, and also to give terror to his Arms. Thither therefore he went on the eighth of *February*, with the Duke of *Orleans* and all the Princes and Lords of the Court, and committed the Assault to the Duke de *Chatillon*, whilst he himself went to an adjacent Hill to hinder all relief from *Paris*. The Duke executed his Orders with all the Valour possible, but at the last Barricade he received a Musquet Shot through his Body, of which he died the next day, lamented by both Parties for his excellent qualities, in the flower of his age, and just upon his enjoyment of the Honours which his Services had acquir'd him. The taking of
F this,

this, as it very much diminish'd the Honour of the Generals and Forces of the Parliament, so it was lookt upon as miraculous in the Person of Monsieur le Prince, to have carry'd a place in the presence of an Army, and at the Gates of *Paris*, from whence ten thousand Men in Arms came out to be Witnesses of it. This Battel, and those of the *Bois de Vincennes*, of *Lagny* and *de Brie*, (in one whereof the young Duke of *Roban*, shewing himself the worthy Successor of his Father's Vertue, lost his Life) being all disadvantageous to the Parisians, inclined them to some thoughts of a Peace, which, notwithstanding it was difficult to effect, because of the different Interests in the Parliament, which hinder'd it. The number of those who were disaffected to a Peace, though inferior to the other, yet appeared more, because they disguised their Hatred and Ambition with the name of Publick Good and Safety, which is not to be found, said they, in an agreement with the Cardinal. The more moderate durst not shew their good intentions, because (besides the danger in doing so) they would have been eluded, and it was better to stay till the minds of the
 peo-

ple were a little wearied, & the strength and hopes of the Party more weakned, before they declared themselves. As for the People, the richer sort would not expose themselves to the Multitude, which having not suffered much from necessity, and being animated by some People of quality, was glad enough of this pretence for War, and cried out against such as desired a Peace. All the Generals (except Monsieur *de Beaufort*, who wholly devoted himself to an hatred of the Cardinal, and love of the People, whom he design'd to make use of afterwards) contrived their particular Reconciliation, and every one had his private Friends at Court to make his conditions better.

Monsieur *d'Elbœuf* held Correspondence with the Abbot *de la Riviere* from the beginning; Monsieur *de Bouillon*, with Monsieur le Prince, and the Marshall *de la Motte* was engaged with the Duke *de Longueville*, who was retired into *Normandy*, where he fortified himself with Arms, Men, and Money, to make his Treaty more advantageous by the mediation of Monsieur le Prince. As to the Prince *de Conty*, because he had no inclinations but what his Sister inspi-

red him with, who was cruelly affronted and slandered by the injurious discourses of Monsieur le Prince about her Conduct, time alone must allay these heats, and the necessity of Affairs bring this Family to a reconciliation, as it quickly did. The Coadjutor only was the principal Promoter of this War, wherein he had but too much defecrated his Character amidst Sedition and Arms, which banish't from his mind all thoughts of Peace, and thwarted every thing that spoke in favour of it, because he found not wherewith to satisfy his Ambition. On the other side the Court swell'd with good success, and the glorious Warlike Actions of Monsieur le Prince, expected yet greater from him, and would impose too rigorous conditions on the contrary Party: so that apparent necessity was a Sovereign Law which determined both Parties to a Treaty of Peace, besides that Civil war being contrary to the nature of all the World, every one was ready to return from his errors and animosities, it being the humour of our Nation to become Dutiful with the same levity that it becomes Mutinous, and to pass in a Moment from Rebellion to Obedience.

And

And now see the present occasion that was offered. The King, on the 20th of *February*, sent a Herald, clad with his Coat of Arms, his Staff cover'd with Flower-de-Luces, accompanied with two Trumpetters: He came to the Port *St. Honoré*, and said, That he had three Pacquets of Letters to deliver to the Prince of *Conty*, to the Parliament, and to the City. The Parliament being advertis'd thereof, determin'd not to receive or give him Audience, but to send the King's Council to the Queen, to tell her, That their refusal was purely a mark of Obedience and Respect, since Heralds were not sent but to Sovereign Princes, or to Enemies; That the Prince of *Conty*, the Parliament, and the City, being neither, beseeched her Majesty to let them know her Pleasure from her own mouth. The Kings Council were well received by the Queen, who told them, That she was satisfied with their excuses and submissions, and that when the Parliament return'd to their Duty they should experience the effects of her Kindness, and that the Persons and Fortunes of every one in particular, not one excepted, should find there their security. the Duke *d'Orleans*, and Mon-

sieur le Prince gave them the same assurances. Many material reasons were the cause that the Court was so ready to be indulgent; for besides the constancy of the Parisians, the difficulty of raising Men and Money, the Revolt of *Gascony*, *Provence*, and *Normandy*, and of many other Cities which followed the Parliament, as *Poitiers*, *Tours*, *Angiers*, and *Mant*, you must know there was yet a more pressing Motive. The Prince of *Conty*, seeing that the Army in *Germany* had pass'd the *Rhine* to come into *France* against Monsieur *Turenne*, and that his Party could not subsist without a powerful foreign Aid, had sent the Marquiss *de Noirmoustier*, and *Laigues*, to the Arch-Duke, to invite him to joyn his Forces to the Party of *Paris*, to constrain the Ministers to conclude a general Peace. The Spaniards resolved not to slip so favourable an opportunity to foment our divisions, and make an advantage thereof, either by a Treaty, or the continuation of the War. To this end the Archduke sent a Deputy to the Parliament, who gave him Audience after he had delivered his Credentials, not without some blot to this Society, if necessity of defence

fence had not pleaded its excuse. In his Audience he declared the Catholick King's joyning with this Company for a general Peace, which should be the sole end of his Forces Entry into *France*, and not to take advantage of the weakness of the Frontier, and that he found more security in treating with the Parliament than with the Cardinal, who had broke it, and who was a declared Enemy of the State: And indeed *Vaufourle*, sent from the Court to the Ministers of *Spain* in *Flanders*, to insinuate some Propositions for a Peace, was not favourably heard, and they inclined to the Parliaments side, to relieve this Party which was going down the Wind; so that the Offers of the Archduke to the Faction of *Paris* (which he perform'd by his actual entry into *France*, (accompanied by the two Agents of the Prince of *Conty*, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Men) giving a just apprehension to the Court, made it suddenly resolve to accommodate the affair of *Paris*. The Taxes were out; it was extreamly difficult to get Money; their Troops perished, either by the Avarice of the Officers, or for want of subsistence, or the dissatisfaction of their Generals;

and their Arms grew ~~into~~ discredit. In fine, the minds of most were disgusted, either because they smarted under the inconvenience, or because it is the nature of people to be soon wearied with a War which they undertook in passion. The Premiere President, and the President of *Mefme*, who had by consent acted underhand with the Ministers during all these commotions, managed with Address these dispositions to advance a Treaty for Peace; and as they were deputed, together with others, to carry to the Queen the Letter of the Arch-duke, and the Credentials of his Envoy, and to justify the Company for having given him Audience, but withal to acquaint her, That they would not determine upon an Answer without knowing her Pleasure, they had a Conference apart from the other Deputies with the Duke of *Orleans* and Monsieur le Prince, wherein they Treated for a Peace. When they were together, the Deputies insisting upon the opening of the Passages, the Princes promised them to open one as soon as the Parliament gave full power to their Deputies to Treat for a Peace. Now though this secret Conference made the Parliament, and the People, who were

were at the Door of the great Chamber, to murmur, yet the Premiere President, who never wanted Constancy upon occasion, nor Zeal for the publick Good, having said, That it was only to get an Answer from the Queen, who was incensed at the Company for having received the Spanish Envoy, persuaded them to give a full Power, without the restriction of the Arrest of *January 18.* against the Cardinal and foreign Ministers, giving them in charge the Interests of the Generals, and the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Provence*, who were Confederates with the Parliament of *Paris*, with whom the other Deputies for the Companies of the Chambers of Accounts, of the Courts of Aids, and of the *Hotel de Ville*, were joyned.

Whilst this famous Deputation was in their way to *St. Germain*, their Majesties and the two Princes had sent some Persons of Quality to the Queen of *England*, to condole the fatal Death of the King her Husband; and *Flammarin*, who was one of them, made a visit from the Abbot *de la Riviere* to Prince *Marcillac*, who lay Sick of a Wound which he received in the Fight at the *Brie Comte Robert*;

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Robert; The Count *de Grancey*, in this Visit, made some secret Overtures advantageous to the Prince of *Conty*, namely that he should be admitted into the Council, and have a strong place in *Champaine*, provided that he would agree to an accommodation, and desist from his nomination to the Cardinalship in favour of this Abbot. This Proposition, made with the consent of Monsieur le Prince, who desired to reunite the two Families, was approved of by Monsieur *de Marcillac*, and soon after by the Duke *de Longueville*, and the Prince of *Conty*. At this time the Duke *de Longueville* was perswaded by Monsieur le Prince to retard his Supplies for *Paris*, and to Treat with the Court upon a Promise of the *Pont de l'Arche*, and a great Charge, for which he was his Surety. Monsieur *de Bonillon* had also some assurances given to him and Monsieur *Turenne* by Monsieur le Prince, but either because he did not very much confide in him, or because he entertained other hopes, he put all the obstacles he could to the conclusion of the Peace: So rare is Fidelity in Civil War to the mutual ties and correspondencies which are found amongst People of different Parties,

Parties, and there are always particular Treaties which precede the general one, because the secret Agreements of heads so considerable, seeming to preserve only a respect for their Party, necessitate the most Zealous to acquiesce in the Peace, or to shew a shameful weakness.

Notwithstanding the Conferences at *Ruel* had like to have broke up, upon the Queens nomination of the Cardinal for a Deputy in conjunction with the two Princes: Those of the Parliament not being willing to admit him, because he had been condemned, they therefore made use of this expedient, to negotiate by two Deputies for each Party, which were the Chancellor and *le Tellier* for the Court, and the President *Coigneux* and *Viole* for the Parliament. At last, after many Debates and Contests, they agreed upon a Peace, wherein, though the Cardinal was preserved, yet he complain'd to the Princes that he was put *sub hasta* (as it was term'd in ancient *Rome*) that is, set to sale, and that they had made him restore his Moveables and Habits, Clothes sold by an Arrest of Parliament. This necessity appeared to them little important, in respect to the
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Necessity they lay under because of the approach of the *Spanish* Army. The principal Articles were, that they should send back the Deputy of the Arch-Duke without an Answer, a general pardon for all the Party, all the Declarations and Arrests since the sixth of *January* to be repealed and annull'd, and the Seme-stres of the Parliaments of *Normandy* and *Provence*, suppressed upon certain conditions: Those who were Enemies to this Peace, took a pretence from some of the Articles to decry it, especially the Coadjutor, who was incensed, that the War which was here begun by him, should be concluded without him; and that instead of all the Advantages which his Ambition had fancied to him, he reaped nothing but the shame of having labored to subvert the State.

He was strictly associated with the Duke de *Beaufort*, whose credit he made use of in all Occurrences; and in this he forgot nothing to render the Treaty odious to the People, the Parliament and the Generals: He represented to them, that this War being made onely to remove the Cardinal, he was nevertheless preserved by this Peace; even the Arrest

rest of the eighth of *January* against him and Foreign Ministers was revoked, and then where is the fruit of so much pains and sufferings, and will not the Parliament fall under the Peoples contempt by such a remissness? And also that the Generals abandoned themselves to their private Interests in prejudice to the Union, but that which with some shew of reason exasperated them most, was, that the Cardinal signed the Treary, the greatest part saying, That he having signed it, it became null, because the Conference was against him, and that there was reason to wonder that the Deputies should suffer a condemned man to confer and to sign with them. He and his Emislaries, by such like Discourses, provoked the Parliament and People, who threatned the Deputies with the utmost Extremities. As soon as the Premiere President began to read the verbal Process, and the Articles in the Assembly of the Chambres, he was hindred by the great clamours and murmurs of the Councillors, and the complaints of the Generals. But the wisest part of the Parliament, either ballancing the Inconveniencies of a Civil War, with the hardness of the Articles, or because they perceived

ceived that it was the Ambition of the Coadjutour, and of some particular persons that inspired them with this averfeness, judged the Peace necessary. The Company thought of sending back the same Deputies to *St. Germain*, to reform the three Articles without speaking of the Cardinal, and to treat of the Interests of the Generals, who should be inserted into the same Declaration.

This pretty mild Advice was proposed by *Broussel*, and for that reason followed by the *Frondeurs* and the *Mazarins*, not without some (it may be, unjust) suspicion, that a secret promise of the Government of the *Bastile*, had at this time mollified the good man, so few are there who are proof against the charms of Interest! When the Coadjutour saw that the Parliament in the Reformation of the Article, did not insist against the Cardinal, he perswaded the Prince of *Conty* to send some one from him, and the rest of the Generals to the Conference at *St. Germain*, (which was held principally for the Interest of the Generals) to propose, that they would renounce all their pretensions (provided that the Cardinal would resign up the

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Ministry of State) and at the same time to beg the Parliament to order their Deputies to insist upon that in conjunction with them. To this end, the Prince sent the Count *de Maure* to *St. Germain*, and asked the company to joyn with him, who granted it : But because there was no mention made thereof in the first Treaty, and also that the Duke *de Brisfac*, *Barriere*, and *Crecy*, the Deputies of the Generals had made other Propositions for their Interests, and because they had already tasted of the Fruits of the Peace, by the restauration of Traffick, and the Cessation of all Acts of Hostility. The Queen and Princes answered to the pressing Instances of the Count *de Maure*, that they would never consent to remove the Cardinal, and that the pretensions of the Generals either were Acts of Grace, Favour, or were due in Justice, that those in Justice due should be preserved for them ; but for such as were only Acts of Favour, they should be conferred on such as deserved them most, and depend purely on her Majesties pleasure: So that all their pretensions being for the most part ill grounded, came to nothing ; and there was only the Prince *de Conty* who had *Danovilliers*, the Duke *de*

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Longueville who had the *Pont de l'Arche*, and *Brussel* who had the *Bastile*, which also was not performed till some time after, and some arrears of Pensions put into the Bargain. As to the Parliament, it was satisfied with the Reformation of the three Articles which the Deputies demanded, and Her Majesty dispensed with their coming to *St. Germain*, where she was to keep her seat of Justice. The Deputies came to *Paris*, where the Chambers being assembled, the Kings Declaration for a Peace was ratified, and it was Ordered, That their Majesties should be thank'd for the Peace they had been pleased to give their Subjects.

This was the end of the War, wherein neither Party having got the better of the other, neither of them obtained what they at first propos'd to themselves. For the Parliament and the Cardinal remained in their former splendor, and the present state of Things was not at all chang'd, notwithstanding the Peace which for some time put a period to all the Horrors of a Civil War; was receiv'd with an universal Joy, except amongst such as grow sick of publick Tranquility, and have no way to advance themselves
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but by Factions, and establish their Safety and Fortunes in the Shipwrack of others. But the Fire of Civil War was not quite extinguish'd by this Peace of the Parliament, it soon after kindled again, and flam'd out with more violence in the principal Provinces of the Kingdom. And certainly, it was difficult for the Queen to pay an Acknowledgement proportionable to the great Services which Monsieur *le Prince* had done her, and for Monsieur *le Prince* to contain himself within a dutiful Modesty, after having so usefully served her: for Debts of this nature being almost impossible to be paid, ordinarily produce hatred in the mind of the Sovereign, and at the same time inspire Subjects with thoughts of domineering, which are not to be endured: Now as the Cardinal had chiefly reap'd the fruit of Monsieur *le Prince's* assistance, so he was the most exposed to his complaints, demands, menaces, and ill humour.

Sometime before the Troubles, the Cardinal desiring to establish the Seat of his Fortune in *France*, that he might strengthen himself by great Alliances, cast his eyes upon the Duke *de Mercœur*,

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whom

whom he design'd to marry to one of his Nieces; he gave him leave to come to Court, and the Duke *de Vendosme* to return to one of his Houses; and also gave over persecuting the Duke *de Beaufort*. This made the more quick-sighted judge, the Cardinal, who foresaw how burthensome the protection of Monsieur *le Prince* would in time be to him, attempted all possible ways to make a shift without it; and yet he hoped by appeasing the Discontents of the Regency, and getting new supports, to free himself from depending upon him. This project was interrupted by the War, and set on foot again soon after the Peace, when the Court being at *Compeigne* where the Duke *de Vendosme* was. The Cardinal omitted no care to make it take effect: The Queen spoke of it to Monsieur *le Prince*, who durst not contradict the Proposal, either because he foresaw not, or slighted the consequence; or rather, because he feared the Breach that would happen upon this refusal. But Monsieur *de Longueuil* (who was restored to his Brothers favor, and had greater power over him than before) induced by reasons which respected his own pleasures more than the
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the advantage of Monsieur *le Prince*; let him see the Cardinals intention, exaggerating his Ingratitude for allying himself with the House of *Vendosme*, which was an enemy to his. And indeed, Monsieur *le Prince* was so very much touched with his Discourses, that, contrary to the Rules of Policy, he kept not himself within bounds when he spoke of the Cardinal, and spared no Ralleries and Invectives against his Person, and the intended Marriage. The Cardinal, to whom this procedure was not unknown, complained mightily of the opposition which Monsieur *le Prince* made against the Marriage of his Niece, which the Duke de *Merœur*, since he opposed not the Marriage of *Mademoiselle d'Angoulême* with Monsieur de *Joyeuse*, affecting by this comparison an equality which was then unseasonable: So that their hearts being exasperated one against another, Suspicions, Jealousies, and evil Reports, which Courtiers are seldom niggards of, in the dissensions of the Cabinet Council, incensed them more, and produced very different thoughts of Revenge. For Monsieur *le Prince* satisfied himself with Contempts, which are frequently Impotent, whil'st the Cardi-

nal with a deep Silence, made great preparatives, and laid foundations for his Ruine; but notwithstanding, both of them shew'd very little coldness, yet this Alienation took its original from the strict and daily communication that they pass'd betwixt them during the War; by which (as it is ordinary enough for esteem to be lessened by familiarity, which discovers all intirely and without reserve, chiefly in the Exercises of good or ill Fortune) the Prince lost a great deal of the Respect which he once had for the Cardinal; and being no longer restrained by the awe of his tottering Power, playd upon his defects before the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Cardinals confidents. These, with little fidelity to either of them, after having made their Court to Monsieur *le Prince*, gave an account of his bitter Railleries to the Cardinal; the remembrance whereof gives spurs to his Revenge, and will never be blotted out of his mind. Besides, the Cardinal discovered, that he could not firmly rely upon the Friendship of Monsieur *le Prince*, who was rather governed by his capriciousness, than by reason and his interests; and that this scornful humour, instead of being

ing restrained, increased daily; so that not being able to gain him over, he resolved to ruine him. Add to this, that Concord and Power being incompatible in the same place, the Cardinal could not brook a Superior at Court, nor the Prince an Equal: But that which entirely broke off the Bond of Friendship betwixt them, was, That the Cardinal being justly enough perswaded, that he could not engage Monsieur *le Prince* to persevere in his Interests, but by pretences of new Establishments, did either by himself, or by his Creatures, make him some Proposals, with the hopes whereof he entertain'd him for some time, but at last eluded them. The Prince enlightned enough by his own Judgment, and it may be by those of his Acquaintance, perceived the Cardinals insincerity, which he no longer doubted of after such a Rencontre as this that follows.

The Cardinal having put Monsieur *le Prince* upon gaining *le Montbelliard*, and having sent *d'Herval* on a pretence to Treat thereof, but with private Orders to conclude nothing, *d'Herval* advertis'd Monsieur *le Prince* thereof, who

could not dissemble it ; and following the Spanish Proverb, *Después quate erre nunca bien te quiese* : and it was no wonder, if the Cardinal being jealous that Monsieur *le Prince* would not fail to revenge himself, design'd to prevent him, even at the cost of those great Obligations which he had to him, seeing that in matter of Policy all means proper to preserve Authority , provided they be sure, are reputed Honest and Lawful.

From this Discourse it is easie to see that the Cardinal was willing to make use of all the events to throw Monsieur *le Prince* upon Precipices , and thus it proceeded. The Peace not being yet declared, it was judged inconvenient to the wellfare of the State, as well of the Provinces, as of the Frontiers, for the King to return to his Capital City. The Ministers could not resolve so quickly to put themselves amongst a provoked Multitude which they had but just before Besieged ; and because the Campaign drew near, it was made a pretence to go to the Frontiers, there to prepare for some considerable Enterprize, that in the interim Time might calm their Spirits, and the remembrance of things
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past be worn out. And indeed, their Majesties and the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Council went to *Compeigne*, but Monsieur *le Prince* thinking it would be for his Reputation to shew himself to a People, who had laid so many Curses upon him, came to *Paris*, and shew'd himself in the Streets alone in his Coach: there he attracted the Respect and Fear, rather than the Resentments of the People: So much doth Valour charm even those whom it wounds: The greatest part of the Parliament, and the principal of the Party visited him; for five or six days after which, he returned to the Court, where the Joy the Cardinal had to see the way to *Paris* made open for him, was allayed by a jealousy over the least of his Actions. At his arrival, the Cardinal desiring to remove so dangerous a Rival, proposed to him the Command of the Army of *Flanders*, which he would not accept, because he had tasted the pleasure of Ruling in the Cabinet Council: He had also a design to go to his Government in *Burgundy*, to pacifie the Troubles in *Guyenne* and *Provence*, which were up in Arms because of a mis-understanding betwixt the Governours and the Parliaments: But the Cardinal

dinal and *la Riviere* did what they could to hinder his Mediation (to the Authority whereof, the parties concern'd referred their Differences) for fear it should give any addition to his Power. During this stay at *Compeigne*, the Prince *de County*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *de Candale*, Monsieur le Prince and Marshal *de Turenne*, who had struck in again with all people of Quality, repaired to him, when they were in company, and full of Mirth, he never dissembled his contempt of the Cardinal and the Duke of *Vendosme*, and the aversion he had to the Marriage of the Duke de *Mercœur*; nay, even went so far as to railly the Royal Authority, whereof he had but just before been the strongest support, but rather out of a hatred to the Cardinal, than out of any design he had to Raise his own upon the Ruines of that.

This manner of Behaviour from that time, gave the Cardinal some thoughts of attempting against his Liberty, if he durst have put them in Execution; but amongst many Reasons which restrained him, that of his Friendship with the Duke of *Orleans*, was an obstacle to this
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only Rule to which he must conform his Interests, defended himself from it with vehemence enough; alledging, That having imparted this Alliance, approved by the Queen and his Royal Highness, to *Rome*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, he could not desist from it without shame and dishonor: So that being ballanc'd betwixt the Reputation of the World, and the fear of *Monsieur le Prince*, he could not resolve either to break off, or to conclude this Marriage: but following the Genius of his own Nation, which was very Ascendant in him, he waited the benefit of Time. In the mean while we were obliged to send out an Army into the Field, to deface the Infamy of our Civil Wars, and raise the Reputation of our Affairs. A strong Army was set out, made up of the Troops of *Germany*, (with which a Peace was just before concluded) whereof *Comte d'Harcourt* was the General, who had orders to lay Siege to *Camb'ray*. This Success, besides the Publick Interest, was of advantage to the Cardinal, who intended to re-establish himself in his ancient Lustre by a glorious Conquest; with the thoughts whereof he was the more pleased, because *Monsieur le Prince* had no hand either in the

the Design or the Execution; also to make the Honor of it more entirely his own, he went himself from *Amiens*, where the King was, to the Siege, rather out of Ostentation, than for any good effect that it had, contenting himself to distribute some Presents of little value, which served only to discredit him in the Army, and expose him to their publick Railleries: But his Fortune look'd upon him with an evil Eye this year, *Cambray* was relieved, and this Enterprize turned to his dishonor.

This Event raised the Party of *Paris*, and revived their Violence, though they were always actuated with the same Animosity against the Cardinal. For he having made no endeavors to gain the Coadjutor, the Duke *de Beaufort*, *Longueil*, and the most in credit with them, they kept up (notwithstanding the Peace) the Peoples and the Parliaments hatred against him, as quick and active as in the time of the War, that hereby they might render themselves necessary at the Kings return to *Paris*, and make their Conditions better; even the Prince *de Conty*, by the advice of Prince *de Marillac*, though that which
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was agreed upon in his favor at the Peace, was fully performed, forbore not to head this Party, and to shew himself the Cardinals enemy, that he might by this render himself more considerable.

Besides, He being intirely devoted to the Will and Pleasure of Monsieur *le Prince*, who by his power procured for him *Danvilliers*, and brought him into the Council : it was for their mutual Interest, that he should keep up his credit at *Paris*, during all the Storms at Court. So that at this time the Kings Authority was as little respected as before the War, because its only support is Fear or Admiration, both which were lost: and the Publick were no less violent against the Chief Minister, expecting that he should become sensible of the little Power he had since he broke with Monsieur *le Prince*: Notwithstanding, as he wanted not such who by false Flatteries suggested to him, that the Party of *Paris* was baffled, even in *Paris* it self, and that his prevailed there : he made a tryal thereof by *Jarzè*, who received an affront from Monsieur *de Beaufort* at the *Jardin de Renard*, wherein the Duke *de Candalle*, *Bontellier*, and other

ther Persons of Quality, were concern-
 ed: hereupon some Challenges follow-
 ed, which went no further than the dis-
 arming of Monsieur *de Beaufort*: A Ren-
 counter which stirred up all the *Fronde*
 into an almost universal Insurrection a-
 gainst the Cardinal and his Partisans:
 Then the Cardinal being undeceived of
 all the Errors they had perswaded him
 into, and foreseeing that (how averse
 soever he was to it) he could not pro-
 long the Kings return to *Paris*, who
 was pressed to go by the Princes, and
 the necessity of Affairs, wholly employ-
 ed his Thoughts upon what might con-
 tribute to his safety: with respect to
 the Prince *de Conty* and Monsieur *de Lon-*
gueil, he engaged his Word to Prince *de*
Marcillac, to procure him the Honors
 of the *Louvre*, which the greatest Fami-
 lies in the Kingdom enjoy: He forgot
 no promises to the Dutchess *de Montba-*
son, who had an entire and absolute Au-
 thority over the Duke *de Beaufort*. He
 at this time promised the Superintenden-
 cy to the President *de Maisons*, Brother
 to *Longueil*: and as to the Coadjutor,
 he being in League with the Marquess *de*
Noirmouſtier, *de Laigues*, and the Dutchess
de Cheveruse, who in he Troubles re-
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turned from her Exile in *Flanders* to *Paris*, the Cardinal enter'd into a Conference with her upon his account, so that the Upholders of this party being cool'd by his Treaties with them, were glad enough to cover the weakness of their credit, which would have appeared, if they had attempted to oppose the concurrence of so great a number as desired the Kings presence at *Paris*.

But the Cardinal, though he stood in need of the support of Monsieur *le Prince* for his re-establishment, yet (either because he believed he could make a shift without him, by the means of these new Practices, or indeed because he could no longer endure the Yoke of his Obligations which he thought lay too heavy upon him) kept only a civil correspondence with him during his absence, treating him like a suspected Friend. Monsieur *le Prince*, to say the truth, now saw the prosperities of the Court, for which he was before so blindly passionate, not without some regret, he was vexed at the Siege of *Cambray*, and was glad when he heard it was raised. The troubles of *Guyenne* and *Provence*, with the difficulties of the Kings
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return to *Paris*, pleas'd him well enough and the more, because he saw into the Cardinals Intentions, who thought of nothing but how to surmount the present Obstacles, and to regain an absolute and independent Authority; nevertheless, he fomented not his Discontents either in private or publick, as if he had a mind to let his Resentment sleep a-while, that it might afterwards break out with the greater Violence: On the contrary, upon his return from *Burgundy* to *Paris*, before he had seen the Court, he powerfully solicited his Friends to receive the King with the Cardinal, and testified the same earnestness as if it had been for his own Interests; it may be, because he took a pride to perfect so glorious a Work as that of re-establishing him; or because he vainly flatter'd himself, that so great a Service would be always present to the Eyes of the Queen.

He staid till the Court returned to *Compeigne*, where he receiv'd more Demonstrations of Friendship than when he went from thence, either to make him remit something of his averseness to the Marriage, which was the fatal cause
of

of their division; or rather, that he might act with his wonted vehemency at the Kings return to *Paris*, which was look'd upon by all the Provinces as the Seat of the Empire.

When the King made his Entry with the Queen, and all the Royal Family in the same Coach, the Cardinal was in one of the Boots with *Monseigneur le Prince*, who by his Presence encouraged him against those Fears which he might justly apprehend, when he saw himself in the midst of an incredible Croud of People who had so much horror for his Person; but only the joy of seeing the King again, possessed every mans mind, whence they banished all thoughts of the late Troubles and Enmities: When their Majesties were come to the *Palais Royal*, they accepted the Submissions of the *Duke de Beaufort*, and the Coadjutor; and *Monseigneur le Prince* concluded so fair a Journey, with telling the Queen, That he thought himself happy since he had now fulfill'd his promise which he made to bring the Cardinal back to *Paris*: Her Majesty answer'd, "Sir, This Service that you have done the State, is so great, that the King and my Self would
be

been suffer'd there. This short Discourse being ended, Monsieur *de Longueville* design'd to go to the Parliament, which was met to consult, whether they should receive him or no. Some of his Friends were against his going, alledging, That he both expos'd himself and the Party; some were sent up to the top of a high Tower, to observe how the People stood affected; and when it was told him that they heard shouts of Joy on every side, he immediatly went out accompanied with those that attended him, and presented himself at the Palais: After having received a thousand Acclamations all the way as he pass'd, he surpris'd the Gentlemen of the Parliament, who never thought of so unexpected an Adventure, and after having taken his Place, spake after this manner, "Having always
 'very much honored and loved you, I
 'am come with all the Danger that a Man
 'of my Quality can expose himself to,
 'to offer you my Estate and my Life for
 'your preservation: I know that the
 'greatest part of Governors do not use
 'to do so, but when they have reaped
 'all the Benefits of your Services, that
 'they could get from you in a time of
 'Peace, they abandon you as soon as
 'they

' they see you in Danger: As for me, who
 ' have a thousand Obligations to you, I
 ' pretend here to acknowledge them,
 ' both as a Governor, and as a Person
 ' sensibly obliged, I come to do you all
 ' the Service I am capable of in a Con-
 ' juncture so dangerous. The Premier
 President making no answer to this
 Speech, and shewing by the trouble in
 his looks how much the Presence of the
 Duke afflicted him, all the Gentlemen
 gave him Testimonies of their Joy, who
 were animated by the mouth of a Coun-
 sellor of the Great Chamber, called
 Monsieur—— who made him this fine
 Speech: " The same difference which
 ' was betwixt the Wolf and the Shep-
 ' herd, Most Courteous Prince, is ob-
 ' servable betwixt the Count *d'Harcourt*
 ' and your Highness on such occasions as
 ' these; the Count *d'Harcourt* came ei-
 ' ther like a Wolf, or like a Lion, but al-
 ' ways like a ravenous Beast to devour
 ' us; we would not open the Doors to
 ' him, for fear of receiving an enemy in-
 ' to our Bowels; we in favor let him take
 ' a turn about our Walls, which he did,
 ' casting on us Eyes all sparkling with an-
 ' ger, *tanquam Leo rugiens*: For you,
 ' Great Prince, you are come like a true
 H 2 ' Shep-

‘ Shepherd to shelter all your Flock, *Ba-*
 ‘ *nas pastor ponit animam pro ovibus suis :*
 ‘ It is too true that you do so, *atque ideo,*
 ‘ *Mon Seigneur,* we commit to you the
 ‘ keeping of this City, and the safety of
 ‘ all the Province ; it is your part to be
 ‘ careful of our Preservation, and ours
 ‘ to help your Cares with all the assi-
 ‘ stance that is in our power. The Speech
 being ended, *Monsieur de Longueville* rose
 up, and after he had saluted every one
 in particular with his ordinary Affable-
 nels, went out of the Palais, accompa-
 nied by his Friends and followed by the
 People, who conducted him with new
 Acclamations.

The Gentlemen of the Parliament re-
 flecting upon the Joy which the Bur-
 gesses express'd to see their Governor,
 began to fear an absolute Slavery ; and
 to hinder this Calamity, designed to
 make their terms with him: but whe-
 ther *Monsieur de Longueville* perceived
 their Intention, or because he would
 bring them into an intire confidence in
 him, he was willing to prevent, and to
 assure them, That they should always
 have the disposal of every thing. He
 told them, That the Affairs he was a-
 bout,

bout , were properly the Parliaments and not his own ; that he desired nor, nor ought to have any other Employment, then to lead an Army for the good of the State, and their particular Services ; that all the Taxes should be made by their Orders ; that they themselves should establish Commissioners of their Company for the Receipt and Distribution of the Publick Treasure ; and in fine, as they had the principal Concern in the success of Affairs, it was reasonable that they should have a share in all the Counsels. These Gentlemen gave him Thanks for the Honor he had done them ; assured him, That they would issue out as many Arrests as he would, without examining any thing ; that being the Kings Tutors, they would at their pleasure dispose of their Pupils Estate ; that they would hazard every thing for his Service, on condition that he would suppress the *semeſtre*, & reduce the Company to their antient State. The Premier President and the Advocate-General, finding that they could do the King no Service, went to *St. Germains*, to give an account how little Power they had.

In the interim Monsieur *de Longueville*, who saw himself sure of the People and the Parliament, thought of nothing but raising an Army: And though he had yet laid no Foundation, he would always be distributing Offices to amuse the People, and they began to Marshal an Army which was but then in imagination: The most Considerable of them being Assembled, he gave them thanks for the Zeal they restifi'd in his Service; that for his part, He would all his Life acknowledge the Affection of those that did adhere to his Fortune; and in the mean time, That he might oblige them by Essential Favors, he was ready to confer upon them the most important Employments that he had. At these sweet Words, all those Illustrious Persons made their profound Reverences: Some time after was spent in Complements, which insensibly ended in assurances of Fidelity and Protestations, to spill the last drop of their Blood. Afterwards, there pass'd many fine Discourses of the present state of Affairs, and some possessed with a zeal for the Party, proposed this weighty Advice: Why, said they, should we not strike the Iron while it is hot? You have, Sir, a great many of the

the Nobility about you, and a great many young Men in the City; you may make a Body of Gentlemen, another of their *Valet de Chambres*; to which you may joyn the *Cinquantain* and your Guards, two great Battalions of the best Burgeſſes, and with theſe Troops ſurpriſe the King at *St. Germain*: Yes, answered *Monsieur de Longueville*: it ſhall be ſo; but being it is our principal Enterpriſe, we muſt conſider how to carry it on well, we will talk of it in our firſt Conſult: In the interim, to avoid Confuſion, which ordinarily ruins all Parties, we muſt diſtribute the Offices, that every one may be aſſured of his Employment. *Varricarville* reſuſed to take any, having read in a Rabby, who adviſed him to feed upon Herbs, That a Man ſhould not embaras himſelf with any buſineſs, notwithstanding his averſion to the Favorites not ſuffering him to be uſeleſs upon theſe occaſions, he would needs take care of the Politick part, and regulate all things according to the Memoirs of the Prince of *Orange*: But as there always happens a hundred Miſfortunes, he had forgot at *Paris* a Manuſcript of Count *Maurice*, from whence he took all his great Notions for the Ar-

tillery and Provisions, which probably was the reason that there was neither Ammunition nor Bread in this Army. *Saint-Ibal* beg'd the honor of bringing in Enemies into *France*, and 'twas answer'd, That the Generals of *Paris* would reserve it for him: He demand'd a full Power to treat with the *Polanders*, *Tartars*, and *Moscovites*, and the entire disposal of all Chimerical Affairs, which was granted him. The Count *de Fiesque*, fertil in Military Visions (besides the charge of Lieutenant General which he had from the *Parisians*) obtain'd a particular Commission for the beating up of Quarters, and other sudden and brisk Exploits, which might be resolved on with singing of a Ballet, or Dancing a step or two. The Marquess *de Beauvron* was made Lieutenant General, on condition that he would stay at the Old Palais, the Place and Government both being of so great Importance, that they could not be preserved with too great care. The Marquess *de Matignon*, always remarkable for his Conceitedness, and at present famous for the memorable Siege of *Vallongne*, commanded the Troops of *Constantine*, saying, That he would have his little
Army,

Army, & depend upon Monsieur de Longueville, no more than *Walsten* did on the Emperor. The Marquels d'*Hectot* begged the Command of the Cavalry, which was given him, because he was better Mounted then the rest, and was about the age of Monsieur de Nemours when he Commanded it in *Flanders*, and had an embroider'd Coat exactly like his. *Ansonville* was chosen Governor of *Roan*, because he was a Man that very civilly understood War, and as fit to harangue the People Soldier-like, as *le Plesir-Besançon*. The Governor was made Marshal de Camp, that he might not be under the Command of others; and the Marshal de Camp was made Governor, that he might not be oblig'd to leave the City, so that one of his Maxims was, That he ought not to stir out upon any account whatsoever; alledging, That a great many considerable Towns were lost by their Governors absence. *Hannerick* and *Cumenil*, desired to be made Marshals de Camp; *Hannerick* claimed a right to it, because he had like to have been Ensign in the Kings Army. *Cumenil*, because he narrowly miss'd being *Maistre de Camp* in the Regiment of Monsieur de *Bocaulle*; he could not

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not

not say that he had ever seen an Army in the Field, but he alledg'd, That he had been a Hunter all his Life, and that Hunting being an Image of War, according to *Machiavel*, forty years Hunting were as good as thirty Campains at least; he would be a Marshal de Camp, and he was so. *Flavacourt* said, That to be a good Captain, a Man must have run away as well as have gained Victories, as *Barriere* observed out of the Book of Monsieur de Rohan; this being so, he pretended that no body could dispute with him the advantage of his own Experience; and all the World remember'd very well the Disorder he was in when *d'Estartè* was taken Prisoner, they would have given him the Command of the Artillery at *st. Euremont*; and to say truth, out of an Inclination for Monsieur *St. Germain*, he had a mighty desire to serve the Court, by undertaking a considerable Charge which he understood nothing of: but since he promis'd the Count *d'Harcourt* not to take any Employment, he kept his Promise, as well for his Honors sake, as that he might not resemble the *Normans*, who had all of them broken their word: These Considerations made him generously

rously refuse the Money that was offer'd him, which indeed was never paid him. *Campion* was not ambitious of great Employments, he only begg'd to be Marshal of a Squadron to learn the Trade, confessing ingeniously that he had no skill in it, but valued himself mightily for his knowledge of the Country, even to the little Brooks and By-ways, which Knowledge he arrived to by Hunting with Monsieur *de Vendosme*. *Sevigny* was content with such another Office, but he was gull'd by his moderation when he saw there was no necessity of being a skillful man to be a Marshal *de Camp*: beside, he set up for a Buffoon, and had the honor to make his Highness laugh. *Rucqueville*, an ancient Servant, would do nothing, and his long experience in War became useless, under pretence of being troubled with Vapors. Monsieur *de Longueville*, to sweeten his discontent because he was not Governor of the Court, augmented his Pensions, but in vain. *Rucqueville* professing generously, that he was ready enough to take his Masters money, but to speak ill of him he would not do it for the world. *Barbarouffe* remained a long time Neuter without taking either side, *Boncaur* keeping him still

still in suspense by the friendship of Marshal Gramount : yet during his long consideration, he forbore not to raise himself insensibly by doing of good offices, and joyfully flatter'd himself with the vanity of an undeserved Repute : Afterwards being informed by Letters from his Friends that they seriously endeavored a Peace, he designed to quit this timorous Neutrality : He had *Cæsars* opinion to fortifie his Courage, which was yet drooping ; and when he came to pass the *Reubicon*, he made a full stop as this great Captain did, and after having thought a little, cry'd out like him, I have pass'd the *Reubicon*, there is but one dangerous cast to lose all : upon this he went out immediately in a violent bustle without any consideration of *Boncaur*, without any regard to his little *Henry*, (well knowing that the sight of Wives and Children, can soften the fiercest Courage and the bravest Minds) or without saying a word to any of his Friends, he went to the Duke de *Longueville*, and thus accosted him : I have always been your servant, but not with so particular a Zeal as that which obliges me to serve you in this Juncture ; from this day I will embrace your Interests,
and

and am come to assure your Highness,
that I devote my self intirely to you.

The Joy the Duke at this time felt was great, and like those which being too big to keep within the Breast, do ordinarily break out and make an Impression upon the Face. But it was very much allayed, when *Barbarouffe* thus explain'd himself.

The Declaration I have made is not so general, but I must add to it one condition; I intend to stay behind when you go to the War, which ought not to be attributed to want of Courage, but to an unhappy detention of Urine, which hinders me from riding: Not that I will be useless in the Party, I will Negotiate with Madam de Matignon, for whom I have always had some kind of Gallantry; and besides, seeing you have no body here that knows how to make Relations, I will undertake the care of publishing your Exploits. These last words cheer'd up the Princes heart again, for to say truth, there was great need of a Gazetier, and he was glad to find one so knowing in Narratives.

Fontera-

Fonterailles came just in the nick to see the great occasion of *de la Bouille* during his abode in *Normandy*, the Duke *de Longueville* communicated every thing to him, as well as to *Varricarville* and the Count *de Fiesque*; but *Fonteraille* could not relish this Confidence well, fearing to engage himself too far in the Interests of the Prince, and to become the Confident of a second Enterprize upon *Pontoise*. So just an apprehension obliged him to strike off, and to carry with him the Count *de Fiesque*, to whom he represented, That since they governed their General so absolutely, all the Disorders that happened, if he should carry things to extreams, would be laid at their Door.

The Duke *de Retz*, from whom they expected such great Supplies, came accompanied only with a Page that carried his Arms, and his two faithful Squires. Some began to talk, when they saw him come without Troops, but they were quickly satisfied, when he shew'd them a long List of all the *Bretons*, who demanded Employment: It would cost no more then Two hundred thousand Crowns to equip these *Bretons* for the Cam-

Campaign, and for want of so little money, the Authority of so great a Lord signified nothing. It is true, he promised to pay it with his Person, and to serve as Duke and Peer in the Army of *Rouen*, with the same diligence as he had done in that of *Flanders*: Besides, he assur'd them that *Montplaisir* would come quickly, and also give them some hopes of being more secret; moreover, that *Bell-Isle* was in a very good condition, there was a Garrison in *Macheours*, and a strong Guard kept at *Nommiral*. His manner of living with the Officers was altogether obliging, and whosoever was happy enough to have a Buff-coat, or a short Cassock of black Velvet, might be assured of his Friendship.

You see the different employments of the most Considerable in the Party. If any body wonders that I have given him no account of their Actions, it is because I am exactly true, and as I saw nothing else, so I have said nothing more; in the mean time I think my self happy for having acquired a hatred to these Troubles, more from Observation than my own Experience. It is a Trade for mad and miserable Men, with whom honest

nest People, and such as are well to live, ought not to intermix.

Fools come thither every day in crouds, the proscribed, the miserable throng in from both ends of the World. Never was there so many entertainments of Courage without Honor; never so many fine Discourses and so little Sence; never so many Designs without Actions, so many Enterprises without Effects; all were Imaginations, all Chymera's, nothing true, nothing real, but necessity and misery.

Thence it comes to pass, that private Persons complain of the great Men that they deceive them; and the great Men, of private Persons that they abandon them. The Fools are disabused by Experience, and withdraw: The Miserable, who see no change in their Condition, go to seek elsewhere some other mischievous Affairs, as much discontented Heads of the Faction, as with the Favorites at Court.

*The Recapitulation of what was
said above, together with the
Imprisonment of the
Princes.*

I.

THe reason that obliged Monsieur *le Prince* to quit the Command of the Army after the Battel at *Lens*, was not only the fear of hazarding his reputation after so many great Successes, but also the desire of enjoying the Fruit of his Victories, and of being an Agent in the Affairs of State, at a time when the weakness of the Government made his Relations and Friends believe that he would be Master at Court.

II.

This second Point is not in its right place, and we must first answer to the third, which concerns the Assembly met at *Noisi* near *St. Germain*. The Answer is, That under pretence of going thither to see *Madam de Longueville*, the Fron-
I deurs

deurs engaged the Prince *de Conty*, and the Duke *de Longueville*, to come into the Parliament Interest, with whom they will needs perswade the World, that Monsieur *le Prince* promised to joyn, as the Coadjutor all along said, and afterwards reproached him with it in the Parliament, which was the cause of the Quarrel betwixt the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and the Coadjutor in the Palace, who had like to have been the cause of his ruine, as we shall see anon. Now though Monsieur *le Prince* disavow'd that he ever made any such promise, yet there is very great probability, that he would have made himself head of the *Frondeurs*, upon hopes of reducing them to the Court Interest, to which he as zealously adhered as ever, whatever he pretended; but when he perceived that they would give him no Authority over them, but what was destructive of the Power he design'd to support, he pretended to forget himself, and to have never had any correspondence with them.

III.

The departure of the Prince de Conty, the Dukes de Longueville and de la Rochefoucault, and of the Marquis de Noirmoustier from St. Germain, was an effect of those Measures which were taken at Noisy. But Monsieur le Prince, who was altogether for the Court Party, made his Brother joyn with it; the Duke de Longueville also rendred himself, as well because he is naturally irresolute, as because he hoped that things would be soon accommodated: But being the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and the Marquis de Noirmoustier were interessed by their League with the Frondeurs to make him stand to his word, they at last constrained him to follow the Prince de Conty to Paris. It is true, that they came not thither at the time appointed; and this delay obliged the Parliament to review the Offers of the Duke d'Elbeuf, and confer upon him the Office of General; who presently made so strong a party in the Parliament, and amongst the People, that it was in his power to cause the Prince de Conty, and all those who accompanied him, to be arrested, accu-

sing them of holding intelligence with the Court, and of coming with the consent and contrivance of Monsieur *le Prince*, who had abandoned them. This went so far, that they set a Guard upon the *Hotel de Longueville*, and at last constrained the *Prince de Conty*, and the *Dutchess de Longueville*, to go to live at the *Hotel de Ville*. But that which brought this suspicion upon them, was, because the Engagement they had made to be of the Parliament party, was entrusted only with a few particular Persons of this company, who durst not declare, till the presence of the *Prince de Conty*, and those that were with him, gave them liberty to publish this secret.

IV.

The Provisions which were permitted to be brought into *Paris*, were not the effect of any Intelligence which Monsieur *le Prince* had with his Relations who were shut up there : for there were never so great Quarrels amongst them as at this time, but it was because the Court desired extreamly to conclude a Peace speedily, before the arrival of the Archduke and his Army, and a general Insurrection

rection of all the Provinces. And the entrance of Provisions was a condition, without which they would not begin the Conference.

V.

Here we must explain the second Point, because it was after the War of *Paris*, that the Prince of *Condy* and Cardinal *Mazarin* fell out. The principal occasion of their Misunderstandings, proceeded from the Cardinals throwing the hatred of the People upon the Prince *de Condy*, and making him to be reputed the Author of all the Violences which they suffered, insomuch that Monsieur *le Prince*, who believed he could not better raze out this Impression, than by the means of the *Frondeurs*, whose Affections and Sentiments the People espoused, resolved to reconcile himself to them, by making an open Breach with the Cardinal, and letting them see that he did not depend upon the Court so much as they imagin'd. Not that he intended by doing this to declare himself their Head, but to become more formidable to the Court, to regain the Peoples affections, and to make his Conditions

more advantageous. And forasmuch as he was sensible of the mischief, which the Divisions in his Family had brought upon him, he ardently desired to be reconciled to the Prince of *Conty*, the Dutches of *Longueville*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who at that time was the sole Confident of the Prince *de Conty* and the Dutches *de Longueville*: Therefore it was for all these Reasons that he took an occasion to break off with them, upon their refusal of the Government of the *Pont de l'Arche* to the Duke *de Longueville*, but because he would not long continue ill at Court, he quickly thought that he had done enough, and was reconciled to the Cardinal within eight days. This lost him the *Frondeurs* and the People again, and brought him no advantage but the reunion of his Family.

VI.

Monsieur le Prince supported the Interests of *Bourdeaux*, cheaply to oblige a great Parliament and a strong City, that this might render him more considerable at Court, and put him into a better condition of making advantages by it.

VII. The

VII.

The League betwixt the Prince *de Conty*, and the Abbot *de la Riviere*, was agreed upon without Monsieur le Prince's being made a Party in it; that is to say, That Monsieur le Prince had no further to do in it, then barely to consent, that the Abbot *de la Riviere*, should, upon the Peace with *Paris*, procure the Prince *de Conty's* re-establishment in his Governments, Monsieur *de Longueville's* in his; and over and above, the Government of *Danvilliers*, upon condition that the Prince *de Conty* should wave his Pretensions to the Cap, in favor of the Abbot *de la Riviere*. It was the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* who treated about this Affair, because the Prince *de Conty* had no mind to be an Ecclesiastick, and because he judged that so long as the Abbot *de la Riviere* was in hopes of being Cardinal, he would engage Monsieur always to take such Measures as the Prince *de Conde* desired; and so he did, till the Imprisonment of the Princes, that the Abbot *de la Riviere* was discharged with the consent of these Gentlemen.

The fifth Point explains this as well as the second, and therefore it will be needless to speak any more of it.

IX:

The Affair of *Jolly* was never so well discovered, as to give a Man ground to speak positively of it : But what I believe, is, that *la Boulage*, who raised the Sedition in the morning, with the Confederacy of the Duke *de Beaufort*, attempted to raise another in the Evening to alarm the Court, and thereby shelter himself from the danger he was in for the first. Likewise the Cardinal, who had of a long time sought an occasion to set the Prince *de Conde* at open War with the *Frondeurs*, made use of this Accident to divide them irreconcilably : He made the Prince of *Conde* believe that they meant it against his Person. The Declaration which he made thereof to the Parliament, at last gave occasion to the *Frondeurs* to reconcile themselves to the Court, and to lay the Design of Imprisoning the Princes, which was soon after executed, and which produced all the

the mischiefs that have since befallen us. The Princes *de Condè*, *de Conty*, and the Duke *de Longueville* were seized the eighteenth of *January*. It was reported, that several gave them notice thereof; but the Prince *de Condè* told me that no body spoke a word of it to him. This I know, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* seeing the different Procedures of Monsieur *d'Orleans* in the tryal of the Assassin, said to the Prince *de Conty* the very day that he was taken into Custody, that either the Abbot *de la Reviere* was gained over to the Court, or that he was lost in his Masters favour; and that so neither Monsieur *le Prince*, nor him, could be one moment safe at Court. The same Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had before told *la Mousaye* the same day, that the Captain of his Company came to tell him, that he was sent to seek him from the King, and that being in the Gallery of the Palais Royal, Monsieur *le Tellier* asked him if the People would not approve of it, if the King should do some bold Action to retrieve his Authority; to which the other answered, That provided they did not Arrest the Duke *de Beaufort*, there was nothing they would not consent to; upon this, the Captain came to the Duke
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the mischiefs that have since befallen us. The Princes *de Condè*, *de Conty*, and the Duke *de Longueville* were seized the eighteenth of *January*. It was reported, that several gave them notice thereof; but the Prince *de Condè* told me that no body spoke a word of it to him. This I know, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* seeing the different Procedures of Monsieur *d'Orleans* in the tryal of the Assassin, said to the Prince *de Conty* the very day that he was taken into Custody, that either the Abbot *de la Reviere* was gained over to the Court, or that he was lost in his Masters favour; and that so neither Monsieur *le Prince*, nor him, could be one moment safe at Court. The same Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had before told *la Monfaye* the same day, that the Captain of his Company came to tell him, that he was sent to seek him from the King, and that being in the Gallery of the Palais Royal, Monsieur *le Tellier* asked him if the People would not approve of it, if the King should do some bold Action to retrieve his Authority; to which the other answered, That provided they did not Arrest the Duke *de Beaufort*, there was nothing they would not consent to; upon this, the Captain came to the Duke
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de la Rochefoucault, and told him, That they were resolv'd to ruine Monsieur *le Prince*, and that he saw by the Measures they took, that it would be within a very little while. *La Mouffaye* promised to tell him, but Monsieur *le Prince* said that he never spoke to him of it. All the World knew what pass'd in this action, and how the Coach wherein the Princes were, being broken betwixt *Paris* and the *Bois de Vincennes*, they staid four or five hours by the way, with a Guard of only sixteen men. They would have arrested the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* and *la Mouffaye* at the same time, and sent Monsieur *de la Vrilliere* with an Order to the Dutcheß *de Longueville* to come to the Queen at the Palais Royal, where they had a design to detain her. But the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* made her resolve to depart that very moment, and to go with all possible diligence into *Normandy*, to engage the Parliament of *Rouen* and all *Normandy* to side with the Princes, and to secure the Friends and Fortified Places of the Duke *de Longueville*, and *Havre de Grace*. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* went along with her; but this Princess, after having in vain attempted to gain the Parliament, retired

tired to *Dieppe*, which served her for a retreat no longer then till the Court came, which press'd her so, that she was forced to Embark her self and go by *Holland* to *Stenay*, whither the Marshal *de Turenne* was retreated since the Imprisonment of the Princes : the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* left *Dieppe* four or five days before the Dutchess *de Longueville*, and went into his Government of *Poitou* to dispose things there for a War, and to endeavor with the Dukes *de Bouillon*, *de S. Simon*, and *de la Force*, to renew the discontents of the Parliament and City of *Bourdeaux*, and oblige them to espouse the Interest of Monsieur *le Prince*, since the Court in their Declarations imputed to him no greater crimes then his having highly defended the Interests of *Bourdeaux*. As to the Reasons which mov'd the Cardinal to arrest Monsieur *le Prince*, I am perswaded he had none that were good, and that all the Rules of Policy were against this Design, as it proved in the event ; besides, till then Monsieur *le Prince* was not suspected guilty of the least thought against the State : therefore I think that the Cardinal by doing this, not only intended to be Master at Court,
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but also that he could not endure the sharp and scornful way wherewith the Prince *de Condé* treated him in publick, by which he endeavored to retriue in the opinion of the World, what their reconciliation had taken from him. He did the same thing in private Counsels to ruine him in the Queens affection, and to gain the Post which he there possessed: In fine, the animosity betwixt Monsieur *le Prince* and him increasing daily, he hasten'd his ruine, that he might not give him time to reconcile himself to the *Frondeurs*; he carried on this Affair with so much Artifice, that the Prince *de Condé* did not only think that the Preparations in order to Arrest him, were intended against the *Frondeurs*; but also in hopes of this, did himself give Orders to see them more safely conducted to Prison: The thing was executed with so general a consent of the People, that the Datchess *de Longueville* being retired *incognito* into a private House, to stay for things necessary for her Journy, saw Bonfires lighted, and other Marks of publick Joy, for the Imprisonment of her Brethren and Husband.

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The Authority of the Court seemed more establish'd then ever, by the Imprisonment of the Princes, and the reconciliation of the *Frondeurs*. *Normandy* received the King with an entire submission, and the Garrison'd places of the Duke *de Longueville* were rendred without resistance: The Duke *de Richelieu* was driven out of *Havre*: *Burgundy* followed the example of *Normandy*: *Belle-Garde*, the Castle of *Dijon*, and *St. Jean de l'Aune*, imitated the Garrisons of the Duke *de Longueville*. Monsieur *de Vendome* had the Government of *Burgundy* given him: the Count *de Harcourt* that of *Normandy*: the Marshal *de l'Hospital* that of *Champagne* and *Brie*: the Count *de S. Aignan* that of *Berry*: *Montrond* was not given any Body, because there was no Garrison there. Those of *Clermont* and *Danvilliers* revolted, and *Marfin*, who commanded the Army in *Catalonia*, was taken Prisoner, and lost *Tortose* whereof he was Governor: then was none but *Stenay* alone which remained true to the Princes party. Almost all their Friends seeing so many Misfortunes, contented themselves with complaints, but did nothing in order to make them cease.

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The Princess *de Condè* and the Duke *d'Anguien*, were by the Kings order at *Chantilly* : the Dutchess *de Longueville* and Marshal *Turenne* were retreated to *Stenay* : the Duke *de Bouillon* at *Turennes* : the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* at *Vertueil* in *Angoulmois* : the Duke *de St. Simon* at *Blaye* : and the Duke *de la Force* at *la Force*. These at first testified an equal zeal for Monsieur le Prince ; but when the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were ready to begin the War, the Duke *de St. Simon* flatly broke his word, and the Duke *de la Force*, who had little engagements to the Party, made excuses not to declare himself. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who had no fortified Places under his Government, nor Souldiers, was notwithstanding the first that took up Arms. *Saumur*, which had been given to *Cominges* after the death of Marshal *de Brezè*, was a place of great importance to the Party. He who commanded there under the Marshal *de Brezè*, delayed for some time to put it into the hands of *Cominges*, and in the mean while sent word to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, that he would adhere to his Party if he would bring some Souldiers thither : He in the interim who had

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none disciplin'd, and who could get no other Forces then what his own Credit and his Friends could raise, under a pretence of solemnizing his Fathers Funeral, assembled so many of the Gentry and Men within their Lordships, as amounted to above Two thousand Horse, and Five or six hundred Foot. He march'd with these Troops to relieve *Saumur*, which was already besieged by the Kings : but though he arrived thither before the time expired that the Governor had promised to hold it, yet he found the Capitulation made, so that he was obliged to retire to his own House; but he was constrained to depart soon after, because Marshal *la Meilleraye* marched towards him with all his Troops, which made him to retreat to *Turennes*, after having put into *Montrond* Five hundred Foot and One hundred Horse. At his arrival at *Turennes*, the Duke *de Bonillon* and he had news, that Madam *la Princess* had followed the advice which they gave her, to depart secretly from *Montrond* with the little Duke *d'Anguien*, and come to *Turennes*, thence to be conducted by them to *Bordeaux*, where they had a great many Friends ready to receive them. The Duke *de*
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Bouillon got his Friends together, and the Duke de *la Rochefoucault* sent his who came to *Turennes*, being about 300 Gentlemen, under the Command of the Marquis de *Sillery*. All these marched into *Auvergne* with Madam la Princess and the little Duke, whom they conducted to *Turennes*; there they staid eight days, in which they took *Brive la Gallarde*, and the Company of *Gendarmes* of Prince *Thomas*, which consisted of One hundred Horse. This stay at *Turennes*, which was necessary to dispose the minds of those at *Burdeaux*, that we might go thither with safety, gave the General de *Valette*, who commanded the Kings Army, time to come into the Road which Madam la Princess was to take, with a design to hinder her Passage: But whilst she stay'd at a House of the Duke de *Bouillons*, called *Rochefort*, the Duke de *la Rochefoucault* and He marched to the General of the Army, with all the Troops that they had raised within their Lordships, and six hundred Gentlemen who were their Friends: they joyned the General de *Valette* at *Montelard* in *Perigord*, who fled without fighting, and retreated to *Bergerack* after having lost all his Baggage. Madam la Princess, after

ter this, set forward for *Bourdeaux*, and came thither without disturbance from any Enemy. The Princess *de Condè* and the Duke *d'Anguien*, were received at *Bourdeaux* with all the Testimonies of publick Joy, and though the Parliament and the * Sheriffs saw her not in a Body, yet there was scarce one of them in particular who did not give her assurances of their Service; but for all this, the Court party and the Friends of Monsieur *d'Espernon*, hinder'd the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, from being received into the City till after some time. They stay'd two or three days in the *Fanbourg des Chartreux*, whether the People resorted in Crouds to see them, and offer'd to force their entrance; they would not accept their proffer, and were contented, as I said, to enter into the City together two days after Madam la Princess. There were then in the Province none of the Kings Troops in a Body, but those which the General *de la Valette* commanded, who were near *Litourn*. Those of the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, consisted of Five or six hundred Gentlemen, their Friends, and such as they raised among their Tenants,

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which not being disciplin'd Souldiers, it was impossible to detain them, insomuch that every one of them was ready to withdraw, therefore they judged it necessary to attempt to set upon the General *de la Valette*, and for this end they marched with all their Troops to *Libourne* where he was: But he having advice thereof, withdrew and avoided Fighting a second time, well knowing that the Nobility was upon the point of returning home again, and so by not fighting at all, he might certainly make himself Master of the Field.

At this time the Marshal *de la Meilleray* had order to march towards *Bordeaux* with his Army, whither also the King was coming. This news made the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* hasten to levy Men, and to take a general review of the Burgesies of the City, to prepare them against a Siege. They made also some Out-works, but because no money came from *Spain*, they could not fortifie any of their Works: for in all this War they had not a farthing from *Spain*, but Two hundred and twenty thousand Liures, the rest being taken up in Provisions, or upon the Credit

dit of Madam *la Princesse*, or of the Dukes *de Bonillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, or of Monsieur *Lafnè*. Nevertheless, in a very little time they raised near Threethousand Foot, and Seven or eight hundred Horse; they took *Chastelneau*, which is four Leagues from *Bourdeaux*, and had extended their Victories further, but for the news they heard of the approach of Marshal *de Milleraye* betwixt the two Seas; & of the Duke *d'Espernon*, who came to joyn the Army of General *de la Valette*. Upon this the Dukes *de Bonillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* dispatch'd the Marquis *de Sillery* into Spain, to acquaint them with the state of things, and to hasten the Supplies which they had promised them. In the interim they left a Garrison in *Chastelneau*, and withdrew with the rest of their Troops to *Blanquesfort*, which is two Leagues from *Bourdeaux*. . It was at this place that the Duke *de Espernon* came to beat up their Quarters. The Dukes *de Bonillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were returned to *Bourdeaux*, and *Champhon* Marshal *de Camp* commanded the Troops, which were much weaker than the Duke *d'Espernon*s; nevertheless, though he could not defend the entrance

of his Quarter, yet the Marshes and Trenches which lye on all one side of it, gave him opportunity of retreating without breaking his Ranks, and of saving his Men and all the Baggage. Just upon this Fight, the Dukes *d'Anillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* went out of *Bordeaux* with a great number of Citizens, and having joyned their Troops, returned to the Duke *d'Espernon* with a design to fight him, but the same Trenches hinder'd them from coming to a close Fight: So that all pass'd in Skirmishes, wherein the Duke *d'Espernon* lost a great many Officers and Souldiers: on the Citizens side there were very few kill'd. *Gutault*, Monsieur le Prince's Chamberlain was there wounded. After this, the Troops of *Marthal de la Millray*, and those of the Duke *d'Espernon*, drew nearer to *Bordeaux*. The King came to *Liburn*, he made them attack the Castle *de Vaire* upon the *Dourdongne*; the Governor having surrendred it at discretion, was hang'd, to intimidate those of *Bordeaux*; but it wrought a contrary Effect, for this News coming at a time when the Peoples minds were unresolv'd and wavering, the Dukes *d'Anillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, hang'd up
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the Commander of the Isle *Saint George*, which was also rendred them at discession. This Action astonish'd the Court, heartned the People of *Bourdeaux*, and so disposed things in the City, that they were resolved to stand the Siege and to defend themselves couragiously, confiding in their own strength and the promises of the Spaniards, who assur'd them of a speedy and powerful Supply. With this design they hastned to make a Fort of four little Bastions at the *Bastide*: The *Bastide* is over against *Bourdeaux*, on the other side of the River. They diligently made other Fortifications to the City; but because a great many Citizens had Houses in the *Fauxbourg de St. Surin*, they would not consent to the burning or pulling down any of them, so that all that could be done, was to shut up the Avenues and make the Windows of the Houses strong; which was done only to content the People, and not out of any hopes of defending a place of so little strength, with the Citizens and so few Souldiers as remain'd, which were not above Seven or eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse. Notwithstanding, because all depended on the People and the Parlia-

ment, we must satisfie them, though contrary to the Rules of War, and undertake the defence of the *Fauxbourg de St. Surin*: it lies open on every side, the Gate of the City nearest to it is *Dijos*, which was weak, being defended with nothing, and because they may walk to it on even ground, that it was thought convenient to cover it with a Half-moon; but every thing being wanting, they made use of a little Dung-hill before the Gate, which being raised into a Scarpe in fashion of a Half-moon, without a Parapet or a Trench, proved notwithstanding the greatest Defence of the City.

Whil'st the King stay'd at *Bourg*, Cardinal *Mazarin* came to the Army, which consisted of Eight thousand Foot, and near Three thousand Horse; they resolv'd to attack the *Fauxbourg de St. Surin*, so much the more readily, because the Avenues only being garded, they might without danger gain the Houses, enter that way into the *Fauxbourg*, and also cut off that which defended the Barricado's and the Church, without their being able to retreat into the City: They believed also that the Half-moon being

being impossible to be defended, they should be possessed of the Gate *de Dijon* after the first day: for this end Marshal *de la Meilleray* attacked the Barricado's and the Houses at the same time; and *Palluan* also had Orders to enter by the Palais *Galien*, and to cut betwixt the *Faubourg* and the City, directly to the Half-moon; but the Marshal *de la Meilleray* having begun the Assault before *Palluan* came, found more resistance then he expected: The Skirmish begun as soon as the Kings Troops drew near: They had lined the Hedges and Vineyards which covered the *Fauxbourg* with a great many Musquetiers, who presently put a stop to the Kings Troops, with a great loss. *Chonpes* Marshal *de Camp* was wounded there, and many Officers kill'd. The Duke *de Bouillon* was in the Church-yard of *S. Martin*, with all the Burgesses he could get to recruit the Posts; and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was at the Barricado where the principal Assault was made, it was presently won; *Beauvais*, *Chasserat*, and the Chevalier *de Tadias* were taken there. The Fight was very hot on both sides, there were One hundred or sixscore men kill'd of the Dukes Party, and Seven or

eight hundred of the Kings, notwithstanding the *Fauxbourg* was carried, but they yet pass'd no further; and therefore they resolv'd to open the Trench for to take the Half-moon, and to make another Assault by the Alleys *de l'Archevesch's*. I have already told you that there was no Ditch to the Half-moon, so that it being easie to be taken, the Burgeses would not come upon the Guard, but contented themselves with shooting from behind the Walls; the Besiegers attack'd it thrice with their best Troops, they enter'd also within, but were beaten back by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who brought thither the Prince *de Condé's* and his own Guards, just at the time when those that defended it began to give back: Three or four of *Navailles* Officers were taken Prisoners, and the rest put to flight or kill'd; the Besieg'd made three great Sallies, in each of which they clear'd the Trenches and burnt the Lodging; thirteen days after the Trench was open'd, the Seige was no more advanc'd than on the first day: But because those of *Bourdeaux* had not Foot Soldiers enough to relieve the Guard of the Ports that were attacked, and those who were not kill'd or wounded, were al-

almost unable to fight, because of the fatigue of keeping Sentry for thirteen days together; the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* refresh'd them with the Cavalry, who quitted their Horses; and they themselves staid there the four or five last days without stirring thence, that they might by their Example keep more of the People there. In the mean time, the Deputies of Monsieur and of the Parliament of *Paris*, arrived at *Bourg* to make Propositions of Peace. *Le Condray-Montpensier* entred into *Bourdeaux* with two Counsellors of *Paris*, *le Menfrier*, and *Bitaud*. The Court desired a Peace, fearing the event of the Siege of *Bourdeaux*, whose resistance was the more obstinate, because they hoped for the Supplies of *Spain* and of Marshal *de la Force*, who was upon the point of declaring himself; but the Parliament wished for a Peace, the Court Party and the Duke *d'Espernon*s acted vigorously to dispose the rest of the City to it. The Infantry was ruin'd, and the Supplies I spoke of had fail'd them too often to give them any reasonable assurance of them now. All this together made the Parliament resolve to send Deputies to *Bourg*: they incited Madam *la Princess*,
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the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* to send also; but because both of them had no other Concerns than the Liberty of the Princes, and could not desire a Peace but upon this condition; They were contented not to oppose a thing which indeed they could not hinder; they refused to send any, and only desired the Deputies to Treat for their Safety and the Liberty of *Madam la Princess*, of the Duke *d'Anguien*, and all of their Party, with the re-establishment of every one. The Deputies went to *Bourg*, and there concluded the Peace without communicating the Articles thereof to *Madam la Princess*, or to the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*. *Madam la Princess* and the Duke *d'Anguien* were permitted to go to *Montrond*, where the King would keep a little Garrison for the safety of *Madam la Princess*, which should be of her own choosing. The Duke *de Bouillon* retired to *Turennes*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who was, as I have said, Governor of *Piçou*, to his own House, without exercising the Office of his Charge, and without any reparation for his House *de Vertueil*, which the King had caus'd to be razed. *Madam la Princess*, the Duke

Duke d'Anguien, and the aforesaid Dukes, went together from *Bourdeaux* to go to *Contras*. Marshal *la Meilleray*, as he went to *Bourdeaux*, met Madam *la Princesse* upon the Water, and advis'd her to go and see the King and Queen, giving her hopes, that the King it may be would grant to the Prayers and Tears of a Woman, what he thought himself obliged to refuse when it was demanded by Arms. In fine, notwithstanding the aversness which Madam *la Princesse* had to go to Court, the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, counsell'd her to follow the Advice of the Marshal, that they might not be reproached with the neglect of any thing that might procure her Husbands liberty. The arrival of Madam *la Princesse* at Court, produced many Effects, so suddain a change made *Mademoiselle* believe, that they treated about many things without acquainting Monsieur with them. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*, had great Conferences apart with Cardinal *Mazarin*, with a design either to make him resolve to give the Princes their Liberty, or to render him suspected by Monsieur. They represented to him, that the Princes would be the more obliged to

to him for it, because they very well knew that he was not in a condition to be compell'd to it by War. That it would be glorious enough for him to let all *Europe* see, that he had ruin'd and re-established Monsieur *le Prince*, when he pleas'd: That the proceedings of the *Frondeurs* ought to make him sensible, that they desired to be Masters of the Princes, either to destroy them, and afterwards him himself with the greater ease; or to set them at liberty, and thereby engage them jointly to effect the Queens and his ruine: That the War was ended in *Guyenne*, but the desire of renewing it all over the Kingdom, would never end but with the Imprisonment of the Princes, and that he ought the more to give credit to those that spoke to him, because they did not fear to tell it himself whilst they were in his hands, and had no other Security but his word: That the Cabals would every where be renewed in the Parliament of *Paris*, and in all the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, to procure the Princes Liberty, and to get them out of his hand: And in fine, that whatever the said Dukes could do, by all ways possible, should be to procure Liberty to the Princes,

Princes, but that they had much rather owe the Obligation to him than to any body else. This Discourse had the effect they desired it should have; it shak'd the Cardinal, and made the *Frondeurs* and Monsieur *de Orleans* jealous: it took away their hopes of getting the Princes into their hands, and made them resolve to be reconcil'd to them, and seek again for means to destroy the Cardinal.

The *Frondeurs*, since the Imprisonment of the Princes, endeavored, not without Cardinal *Mazarins* consent, underhand to make all the advantages they could of their Reconciliation with him, but they affected always to make the World believe, they had not changed their design to ruine him, that hereby they might keep up their Credit amongst the People: So that what they did for this end, at the beginning with the Cardinals approbation, was afterwards serviceable to them against him when they really intended his ruine. I have already told you, that the Dukes *de Bouillon's* and *de la Rochefoucault's* conversation with the Cardinal had made them jealous. *Mademoiselle* took the alarm, and gave it to Monsieur *d'Orleans*; afterwards the
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Frondeurs used their utmost and last endeavors to get the Princes within their power: and seeing that they were refus'd it, they enter'd upon a Negotiation with the Princes, and those who Treated for them, they engaged Monsieur d'Orleans to procure their Liberty. The President *Viole*, *Arnaud*, *Montrueil* the Prince of *Conty's* Secretary, and many others, enter'd upon Negotiating with Monsieur d'Orleans, the Coadjutor, Madam de *Chevreuse*, and the *Frondeurs*, and with Monsieur de *Beaufort*, and Madam de *Montbazou*; the rest treated with the Cardinal. At this time the Princess *Palatine* was more than any Body the Confident of the Princes and the Dutchesse de *Longueville*; she began all the Negotiations of the Princes, as well with the *Frondeurs* and the Cardinal, as also with Madam de *Chevreuse* (whose Daughter was to be married to the Prince de *Conty*) and with Madam de *Montbazou* and the Duke de *Beaufort*. She was the Trustee for their Treaties, how opposite soever they were: who seeing herself charged with so many contrary things at a time, and fearing to become suspected by one or other of them, sent word to the Duke de *la Rochefoucault*,
that

that it was necessary he should come to *Paris incognito*, and that she would acquaint him with the state of Things, that they might together resolve upon concluding with one side or other. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was then a declared enemy to the Coadjutor, to Madam *de Chevreuse*, the Duke *de Beaufort*, and Madam *de Montbazou*: So that seeing the Negotiations equally advanced on both sides, and judging, That if they concluded with the *Frondeurs*, the Princes could not get out without a Revolution of all the present state of Affairs; He came to *Paris*, and having let the Princess Palatine see that the Cardinal had the Key of the Princes Prison, and could set him at liberty in a moment, he hindered her from making Monsieur le Prince ratifie the Treaty with the *Frondeurs*, to give the Cardinal time to consider the Difficulties he was going to be entangled in. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* saw him three or four times in private, they both of them desired it might be so, because the Cardinal would have nobody in the World know of this Negotiation, for fear Monsieur and the *Frondeurs* should speedily break out against him: and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*

foucault kept it the more secret, because the *Frondeurs* demanded as one Condition of their Treaty, That the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* should sign it, which he neither would nor ought to do, so long as he had reason to hope that the Treaty with the Cardinal might be sincerely intended both by him and the Princes. He received also from the Dutchess *de Longueville* a full Power to make the Cardinal Friends with all the Family, upon condition that he would set the Princes at Liberty. In the interim, the *Frondeurs* who got intelligence that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* treated privately, pressed him to sign their Treaty with Monsieur le Prince; so that seeing himself necessitated speedily to conclude with one party or the other, he resolved to see the Cardinal once more; and after having represented to him the same things that he had told him at *Bourg*, and the danger he was ready to incur by the Declaration of Monsieur *d'Orleans*, the Parliament, and the *Frondeurs*, and by being almost generally abandoned by his Creatures, he declared to him that things were come to that pass, that if he did not that very day expressly give him his word for the liberty of the Princes, he could

could not Treat with him any more, nor help concluding with the *Frondeurs*, who began to be alarm'd at his delay to sign the Treaty, and who would not finish it without him. The Cardinal saw very much probability in what he said, nevertheless the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* spoke to him only in general of the several Cabals which were formed against him, without enumerating any in particular; and this he did, because he would not betray a Secret with which he was Intrusted, nor say any thing that might prejudice that Party which he was going to make for the Princes Liberty, if the Cardinal refused it; so that the Cardinal seeing nothing particularized, thought that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* had made the danger greater than it was, only to make him conclude; and believed, because he named not to him so much as any of his Enemies, that he had told him nothing that was certain. In the mean while all sides were mightily exasperated, Monsieur declared openly that he would have the Princes set at Liberty; for their part, they desired that the Treaty might be concluded with the *Frondeurs*, and obliged the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, to

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reconcile himself to, and joyn with them : Monsieur's Declaration for the Liberty of the Princes, made the Parliament and the People of *Paris* come over to his side : The Burgesſes took up Arms, ſet a Guard at all the Gates, and would not give the King and Queen liberty to go out of *Paris*; they were no longer contented to demand the Princes Liberty, they would alſo have the Cardinals Life. Monsieur *de Château-neuf*, Keeper of the Great Seal, eſpouſed the Interests of the Princes, and hoped that their Liberty and the removal of the Cardinal, would render him chief in the management of Affairs. Marshal *de Villeroy*, and almoſt all the Kings Family, ſupported him, part of the Miniſters, and many of the Cardinals moſt particular Friends did the ſame thing; and the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe* contributed all her Power, whereof ſhe had a great deal in all the Cabals : Monsieur *de Château-neuf* was always engaged to her Interests, ſince and before his Imprisonment; and it was with each others Advice that they took all their Meaſures, ſometimes with the Cardinal, and ſometimes with his enemies. She had a great influence upon the Coadjutor, but the
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Beauty of *Madamoiselle de Cheverense* had yet a much greater power over him: *Madamoiselle* and the Coadjutor, assisted by *Madam de Cheverense* and *Monsieur de Château-neuf*, had got the Ascendant over the mind of *Monsieur d'Orleans*; besides, they had powerful Cabals amongst the People and the Parliament, whom they actuated as they had need. The Dutchess *de Chevreuse* and *Monsieur de Château-neuf*, were not yet suspected of the Cardinal, he knew nothing of the Marriage that was proposed betwixt the Dutchesses daughter and the Prince *de Conty*; he remembered that she contributed more than any body to the Imprisonment of the Princes, by disposing *Monsieur* to consent to it, and obliging him not to tell it to the Abbot *de la Riviere*, and afterwards to cashire him. So that the Dutchess *de Chevreuse*, who wish'd nothing so much as the Marriage of her daughter with the Prince *de Conty*, and the establishment of the Keeper of the Seals, thinking she might compass both her desires by removing the Cardinal, managed her self so well in this Affair, that she really was the greatest cause of the Resolution he took to withdraw. His retreat did not at all calm

calm the minds of the *Parisians* or of the Parliament; they feared he was gone to *Havre* to take the Princes thence by force, and that the Queen at the same time design'd to carry the King away from *Paris*, insomuch that not only the Guards of the Gates and the Streets near the Palais Royal were doubled, but also there were all the Night some of the Cavalry about in the City, to hinder the King and Queen from going out. The Parliament on the other hand, made every day new Petitions for the Princes Liberty, and the Answers of the Court being ambiguous, did but enrage, instead of appeasing them: They thought to blind the World by sending Marshal *de Gramont* to the Princes, and he himself made great preparations for the Journy, but because it was not to produce any thing for their Liberty, they quickly saw that it was only to gain time. In fine, the Queen seeing the mischief increase on every side, and not certainly knowing whether the Cardinal would deliver the Princes, or take them away with him; and besides, fearing lest their minds already exasperated with so many delays, should be at last run to strange Extremities, she resolved to promise the

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Parliament to set the Princes at Liberty, without any further delay, and sent away the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, the Sieure *de Vrilliere* Secretary of State, and *Cominges* Captain of her Guards, with an exprefs Order to *de Bar* to set the Princes at Liberty as soon as he received it. The Cardinal had notice of it from the Queen when he was near to *Havre*, and though it was in his power to permit this Order to be executed, or to take the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and those who accompanied him Prisoners, yet he rather chose to go to the Princes himself, in which Interview the Cardinal immediately began to justify his conduct and carriage towards them, declaring the reasons he had to Arrest them: afterwards he desired their Friendship, yet told them, with a mind something haughty, that they were at liberty to grant or refuse it him, and whatsoever they did as to that, they might leave *Havre* and go whither they pleased; they seemingly promised him what he desired: He dined with them, and immediately after the Princes and Marshal *de Gramont* left *Havre*, and went three Leagues off to lye at a House called *Grosmenil*, in the way from *Havre* to *Roüen*, where the

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Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, *la Vrilliere*, *Cominges*, and the President *Viole*, arrived presently after with the Orders of the Court which I before mentioned.

What passed after the Imprisonment of the Princes, till the War de Guyenne.

THE Imprisonment of Monsieur *le Prince*, added new Lustre to his Glory, so that he came to *Paris* with all the Splendor that a Liberty so advantageously obtain'd could give him. The Duke *d'Orleans* and the Parliament had forced him out of the Queens hands, Cardinal *Mazarin* had hardly escaped the People's, and left the Kingdom loaded with publick contempt and hatred. In fine, the same People who but a year before made Bonfires for the Misfortune of Monsieur *le Prince*, besieged the Court in the Palais Royal to procure his Liberty; every one believed, that his disgrace might be laid upon his Humour and Conduct, which brought upon him so much hatred, and all equally hoped,

hoped, that his Presence would settle the Kingdom in Order and Peace. Things were thus disposed, when Monsieur *le Prince* arrived at *Paris* with the *Prince de Conty* and the *Duke de Longueville*, an infinite croud of people came to meet him, as far as *Pontoise*: He was met by the *Duke d'Orleans* in the Mid-way, and was conducted to the *Palais Royal* in the midst of this Triumph and publick Acclamations: The King, the Queen, and the *Duke d'Anjou*, were there only with the Officers of the House; and Monsieur *le Prince* was received like one, that was rather in a condition to give than to beg Pardon. This Interview pass'd in ordinary Civilities, without discovering the least anger on either side, and without discouraging upon Affairs. But the Queen, too impatiently, desired the Cardinals return, not to attempt all sorts of ways to dispose Monsieur *le Prince* to it: She offer'd by the *Princess Palatine* to enter into a strict League of Friendship with him, and to procure him all manner of Advantages. But because it was in general Terms, he answer'd her with Civilities, which laid no tye upon him: he also thought that it was an Artifice of the Queens to renew

the general Dislike against him, and by rendring him suspected of Monsieur *d'Orleans*, the Parliament and the People, to expose him to fall into his former Misfortunes. Moreover, he consider'd that he came out of Prison by a Treaty signed with Madam *de Chevreuse*, by which the Prince *de Conty* was to marry her Daughter, and that it was principally because of this Alliance, that the *Frondeurs* and the Coadjutor of *Paris* confided in him. This Consideration had also the same Effect upon the Keeper of the Seals, *de Château-neuf*, who was then President of the Council, and was inseparably bound to the Dutchesse *de Chevreuse*: Besides, this Cabal seemed to continue in the same Force and Credit it was before; She offer'd him also the choise of any Preferments for himself and his Brother, and Monsieur *de Château-neuf* had but just before re-establish'd them both with the Duke *de Longueville* in the exercise of their Offices. But in fine, Monsieur *le Prince* found it dangerous and shameful to break with those from whom he had received so many Advantages, and who had so powerfully contributed to his Liberty.

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Though these Reflections balanced Monsieur *le Prince*, yet they changed not the Queens design, she all along desired with the same earnestness to enter upon a Negotiation with him, hoping either to tie him firmly to her Interests, and thereby secure the Cardinals return, or to render him again suspected, for all that he did, by his party : In hopes of this, she pressed the Princess *Palatine* to make Monsieur *le Prince* declare what he would desire for Himself and his Friends, and gave him so much hopes to obtain every thing, that he resolved at last to Treat, and privately to see *Servien* and *Lyonne* at the Princess *Palatines* : He desired also, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* should be there, and made the Prince *de Conty* and the Dutchess *de Longueville* acquainted with it. The first Project of the Treaty which the Princess *Palatine* proposed, was, That they would give *Guyenne* to Monsieur *le Prince*, the Lieutenancy General to whomsoever of his Friends he pleased, and the Government of *Provence* to the Prince *de Conty* ; that they would gratifie those who had followed his Interests ; that they would require no more of him, than to go to his Government, with any of his Troops
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he pleased to choose for his safety, that he should stay there without contributing any thing to the Cardinals return, so that he opposed not what the King should do to bring him back, that, however it happen'd, Monsieur *le Prince* should be at Liberty to be his Friend, or Enemy, as his behaviour gave him occasion to love, or hate him: These Conditions were not only confirmed, but also increased by *Servien* and *Lyonne*; for upon Monsieur *le Princes* request to joyn the Government of *Blaye*, to the Lieutenancy General of *Guyenne* for the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, they gave him all the hopes he could desire. It is true, they demanded time to treat with Monsieur *d'Angoulesme* for the Government of *Provence*, and perfectly to dispose the Queen to grant *Blaye*; but it was only that they might give an account to the Cardinal of what passed, and receive his Orders; they declared also the Queens unwillingness to the Marriage of the Prince *de Conty* with *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, but they gave them not occasion to discourse any further upon that matter, and only let them know, that the engagement they had made with *Madam de Chevreuse*, was too strong to admit of expedients
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for breaking it: they insisted not upon this point, and parted in such a manner, that one might have reasonably believed, that the League betwixt the Queen and Monsieur *le Prince* was upon the matter concluded. Both of them were almost equally obliged to keep this Negotiation secret, the Queen had reason to fear increasing the jealousy of the Duke *d'Orleans*, and the *Frondeurs*, and to contradict, so soon and without any pretext, all the Declarations which she had but just before made to the Parliament against the Cardinals return. Monsieur *le Prince* also was obliged to use no less Caution. The noise of his Treating would make his Friends believe, that he had done it without their having any benefit by it, and from that time would furnish the Duke *de Bouillon* and Marshal *Turennes*, with a just pretence to quit his Interests. He would render himself irreconcilable to the *Frondeurs* and Madam *de Chevreuse*, and presently renew the fearful Image of the late War in the minds of the Parliament and People. In fine, this Affair continued for some while without being discover'd, but the time which they took to conclude it in, soon produced occasions to break it off, and
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carry things to those Extreame which we have since seen them in. The Court was then divided into many Cabals, but all were unanimous to hinder the Cardinals return; notwithstanding their Conduct was extremely different, the *Frondeurs* openly declared against him, whilst *Château-neuf*, the Keeper of the Seals, pretended to be strictly engaged to the Queen, and at the same time was the most dangerous enemy the Cardinal had. He believed this Conduct the surer to remove him, and possess himself of his place, because he affected being of the same mind with the Queen to hasten his return. The Queen, for her part, gave the Cardinal an exact account of every thing while he was retreated, and augmented his Power since his absence; but because his Orders came slowly, and one often contradictory to an other, this diversity brought Affairs into such a confusion, as admitted of no redress.

In the mean time the *Frondeurs* press'd the Marriage of the Prince *de Conty* and *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, they were jealous of the least delays, and already suspected *Madam de Longueville*, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, of having a de-

a design to break it off, for fear Madam *de Chevreuse*, and the Coadjutor, should get the Prince *de Conty* out of their hands. Monsieur le Prince also dexterously increased their suspicions of his Sister, and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, thinking that so long as they were of this Opinion, they would never discover the true cause why the Marriage was delay'd ; which really was, because the fore-mentioned Treaty of Monsieur le Prince with the Queen, being neither finished nor quite broke off; and having had notice that Monsieur *de Châteauneuf* would be disgrac'd ere long, he intended to wait the event of all these things, either to conclude the Marriage, or make his Court to the Queen by breaking it off; and to see whether the Cardinal would be ruin'd by the Keeper of the Seals, or the Keeper of the Seals be turned out by the Cardinal. In the mean time, they sent to *Rome* to get a Dispensation for nearness of Blood, the Prince *de Conty* expected it with impatience, both because the person of *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* pleased him, and because the changing of his Condition had at least the Charm of being new, a Charm which he never had the power to resist. Nevertheless,

vertheless, he hid his thoughts from his Friends with all the Art he could, and feared above all things lest Madam *de Longueville* should perceive it, and ruine the vain hopes of a shameful and ridiculous passion, which he would make them believe he was inspired with. In this perplexity, he secretly desired the President *Viole*, who was to draw up the Articles of the Marriage, to accord what points soever they contested, and to overcome all the difficulties that might impede it. At this time the Keeper of the Seals, *de Chateau-neuf*, was in disgrace. The Premier President succeeded him, and the Queen re-establish'd Monsieur *de Chavigny* in the Council. She thought, because he return'd without the mediation of any body, that he would owe the obligation entirely to her self; and indeed so long as *Chavigny* hoped to gain a confidence with the Queen, he never came near Monsieur *le Prince*, nor any of his intimate Friends: but from the moment he perceived that nothing could alter the Queens affection to the Cardinal, he secretly renewed his Friendship with Monsieur *le Prince*, and from that time believed, that this union would advance him to every thing his unbounded

bounded Ambition prompted him to desire : His first thought was, to oblige Monsieur *le Prince* to impart the Treaty he was agitating with the Queen to the Duke d'*Orleans*, that he might help him to break it off. Afterwards, he required Monsieur *le Prince* to remove Madam de *Longueville*, and the Duke de *la Rochefoucault* from all particular and secret knowledge of his Designs, though he owed to them both as great Confidence as Monsieur *le Prince* reposed in him. Whilst *Chavigny* acted thus, the removal of Monsieur de *Chateau-neuf* increased the diffidence of Madam de *Chevreuse*, touching the Marriage, which she impatiently desired; she found her self no longer in a condition to procure of Monsieur *le Prince* and his Friends, the establishment to which he was engaged, and in the mean time Madam de *Rhodes* had by her order agreed with the Duke de *la Rochefoucault*, that these very Establishments, and the Marriage, should be performed at the same time, and be reciprocal Pledges of the fidelity of both parties : But as on one side Madam de *Chevreuse* saw her hopes diminish with her Credit ; so on the other side, they were increased by those testimonies of Passi-

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on, which the Prince *de Conty* gave to *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*. She gave him a thousand uneasinesses, which he hid from his Friends, and chiefly from his Sister. He had very long and particular Conferences with *Laigues* and *Noirmontier*, which, contrary to his custom, he gave an account of to no body. In fine, his conduct appeared so extraordinary, that the President *de Nesmond*, a particular Servant of Monsieur le Prince, thought himself obliged to advertise him of Prince *de Conty's* design: He told him that he was going to Marry *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* without his knowledge, and without a Dispensation; that he absented himself from his Friends, to get an opportunity of treating with *Laigues*, and that if he did not speedily prevent it, he would see *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* would rob him of his Brother, and complete the Marriage, at a time when 'twas believed it was more for his Interest to hinder it. This advice put him out of all doubts of the thing, and without asking any Bodies advice, he went to the Prince *de Conty*, and beginning his Discourse with railleries upon the greatness of his Love, ended it with speaking of *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse*, the Coadju-

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for *Noirmoustier* and *Commartin*, all that he thought capable of disgusting a Lover or a Husband. Without any great difficulty he accomplish'd his Design, for the *Prince de Conty*, either because he believed what he said to be true, or because he durst not shew that he doubted of it, thank'd him immediately for his good advice, and resolved never to think of *Mademoiselle de Chevreuse* more; he also complain'd of *Madam de Longueville*, and the *Duke de la Rochefoucault*, for not having told him sooner what the World talk'd of her: hereupon they endeavored by all ways to break off this Affair, without exasperating the other party; but the Interests were too great, and the Circumstances too provoking, not to revive and increase the ancient hatred of *Madam de Chevreuse* and the *Frondeurs*, against *Monsieur le Prince*, and all those whom they suspected to have had a hand in what was lately done.

Nevertheless, the President *Viole* had Orders to go to *Madam de Chevreuse*, and try if he could handsomly disengage *Monsieur le Prince*, and the *Prince de Conty*, from the promises they had given for the Marriage: they themselves were

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both of them to go to wait upon her the day after, but either because they knew not how to have the confidence to visit one whom they had so sensibly dis-oblinded, or because the two Brothers who quarrel'd every day for the least things, could not then agree about the manner of paying their Visit. In fine, neither they themselves nor *Kiole* waited on her; and the Affair broke off on their side, without endeavoring to keep any moderation, or to make the least pretence. I cannot tell whether it was by *Chavigny's* advice that Monsieur le Prince accepted the Government of *Burgundy*, in exchange for that of *Guyenne*; but this Treaty was at last concluded by him, without mentioning what he before demanded for his Brother, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and his other Friends.

In the mean time, the Counsels of *Chavigny* had the success he desired; he alone was Monsieur le Prince's Confident, and had perswaded him to break off his Treaty with the Queen, contrary to the advice of *Madam de Longueville*, the Princess *Palatine*, and the Dukes *de Beillon* and *de la Rochefoucault*. *Servien* and *Lyonne* were on both sides in this

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Negotiation, and were afterwards discarded. The Queen deny'd that she ever heard of the Proposition of *Blaye*, and accused *Servien* for having done it on purpose to make the Demands of Monsieur *le Prince* so high, that she could not possibly grant them. Monsieur *le Prince* again complained of *Servien*, for either entering into a Business with him by the Queens orders, upon conditions which she never had knowledge of, or for having made so many vain Propositions to amuse him with the pretence of a sincere Treaty, which was really nothing, but a premeditated Design to ruine him. In fine, though *Servien* was suspected on both sides, it diminished not the disaffection that began to arise betwixt the Queen and Monsieur *le Prince*, which was almost equally fomented by all that came near them: they perswaded the Queen, that the difference betwixt Monsieur *le Prince* and Madam *de Chevreuse*, would reunite the *Frondeurs* to the Cardinals Interests, and that things would ere long come to the same pass they were in, when Monsieur *le Prince* was Arrested. He, on the other side, was hurry'd on by many different Interests to break with the Court.

He found no security in the Queen, and was afraid of falling again into his first disgrace. Madam de Longueville knew that the Cardinal had made her Husband hate her, past all hopes of reconciliation, and that after the Impression he had given him of her Conduct, she could not go into Normandy to him, without either exposing her Life or her Liberty: Notwithstanding, the Duke de Longueville would by all means have her come, and she had no way to avoid so dangerous a Journey, but by inciting her Brother to quit the Court by an open breach with it, and to prepare for a Civil War. The Prince de Conty had no particular aim, nevertheless he followed the Opinions of his Sister before he knew them, and would have a War, because she prevented his taking upon him a Profession which he had no inclination to. The Duke de Nemours also counsell'd it with a pressing earnestness, which proceeded not so much from his ambition, as from his jealousy of Monsieur le Prince; he could not bear his seeing, and loving Madam de Chastillon; and because he could no way hinder it but by separating them for ever, he believed that the War alone would effect it. And this was the only

only motive he had to desire it. The Dukes *de Bouillon* and *de la Rochefoucault* were much more averse, for they had by a fresh experience try'd to what invincible Labours and Difficulties they expose themselves, who would support a Civil War against the presence of their King: they knew with what Infidelities they were threatned, when the Court by Proclamation promised rewards to those that would submit, and gives Interest-ed persons a pretence of returning to their Duty: they knew also the Treachery of the *Spaniards*, how vain and deceitful their promises are, and that their true Interest is not, that Monsieur *le Prince*, or the Cardinal, should be at the Helm in the management of Affairs, but to foment the Quarrel betwixt them, and so advantage themselves by our Divisions. The Duke *de Bouillon* also added the consideration of his private Interest to that of the publick, and hoped he might do a thing meritorious in the Queens eyes, if he contributed to restrain Monsieur *le Prince* within the bounds of his Duty. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* could not so openly declare his Aversion to this War: He was obliged to follow the Sentiments of Madam *de Lon-*

gueville, and all that he could then do, was to endeavor to persuade her to a Peace. But the Conduct of the Court and of Monsieur le Prince, soon gave occasions of Diffidence to both parties, the consequence whereof was fatal to the State, and to most of the great Families of the Kingdom; it ruin'd almost in a moment, the greatest and most splendid Fortune that ever dignified the Head of a Subject. Whilst things were on all sides disposed for an entire Rupture, Monsieur le Prince sent the Marquis de Sillery into *Flanders*, under a pretence of disengaging Madam de Longueville, and Marshal Turennes from the Treaties, which they had made with the *Spaniards* in order to procure his Liberty, but really with an Order to take Measures with the Count de Fuenfaldaigne, and know before-hand what assistance Monsieur le Prince might expect from the King of *Spain*, if he should be forced to resolve upon a War. Fuenfaldaigne answered him to this, according to the usual custom of the *Spaniards*, and by promising in general much more than he could reasonably ask, omitted nothing that might engage Monsieur le Prince to take up Arms. On the other side,

side, the Queen had made a new Treaty with the Coadjutor, the principal foundation whereof, was the common hatred they had to Monsieur le Prince. This Treaty was to be kept secret, both for the Queens and the *Frondeurs* Interest, because she could expect no service from them, but by the Authority they had amongst the People, which they could preserve no longer then while they believed them the Cardinals enemies, both parties equally thought their safety consisted in the Princes ruine: they also offer'd the Queen to kill him, or to take him Prisoner; but she aborr'd the first proposition, though she willingly consented to the second. The Coadjutor and *Lionne* went to the Count de *Montresor's*, to consult about the means of executing this Enterprize: They unanimously agreed that it should be attempted, but could neither resolve upon the time, nor the manner of doing it. Now either because *Lionne* feared the Consequences thereof for the State, or because he considered the liberty of Monsieur le Prince, as the greatest obstacle to the Cardinals return, which he desired to hinder, he one day discovered to *Marshall de Grammont*, all that was resolv'd

upon against Monsieur le Prince at the Count de Montresor's. Marshal de Grammont kept the secret no better then Lionne, for he told it to Chavigny, after having engaged him by all manner of Oaths not to reveal it, but Chavigny immediately gave notice of it to Monsieur le Prince. He for some time thought that they had raised this report of Arresting him, only to make him quit Paris, and that it would be a weakness to take the Alarm, seeing the People so zealously adhering to his Interests, and finding himself incessantly accompanied with an infinite number of the Officers of the Army, of his own Troops, of his menial Servants, and particular Friends: with this confidence he alter'd not his Conduct in any thing, save that he resolv'd, not to go any more to the Louvre; but this precaution could not secure him from putting himself into the Kings power, by an Imprudence which can't be blam'd enough: for he went to the *Cours de la Reine* in his Coach, at the same time that the King pass'd that way in his return from Hunting, followed by his Guards and his Light Horse. This Rencontre, which might have destroy'd Monsieur le Prince, at that time produc'd

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no such effect: The King went on his way, and Monsieur le Prince went out of the *Cours*, that he might not give him any time to lay a Design against him. We may believe, that they were equally surpris'd with such an extraordinary adventure, and that they were quickly after sensible that both of them had made a considerable fault; the King, in not taking a resolution immediately to Arrest him; and Monsieur le Prince, in exposing himself to such a danger, without perceiving it till it was out of his power to avoid it. The Queen and the *Frondeurs* comforted themselves for the loss of so fair an occasion, with the hopes of seeing their project soon take effect: In the mean time, the continual advice which Monsieur le Prince had given him on all hands, began to persuade him, that they really intended to secure his Person: and therefore he reconciled himself to Madam de Longueville, and to the Duke de la Rochefoucault; nevertheless it was some time, for all that they could do to make him resolve, ere he would take warning to look to himself. At last his Fate would have it, that after he had obstinately resisted so many apparent Conjectures, and cer-
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tain Intelligences, he was alarm'd without reason, and by a new fault did what he had refused to do at the advice of his Friends; for one time when he was laid in bed talking with *Vincent*, he received a Note from a Gentleman called *Bouché*, who sent to Advertise him, That two Companies of the Guards were in Arms, and going to march towards the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*: This News made him believe, that they were to beset the *Hotel de Condé*, so that without ever considering that they often employed these Companies to guard the Gates, and to exact the payment of Entries (as indeed they were then commanded only for that purpose) he thought they were intended against his Person: upon this, he got on Horse-back with all the haste imaginable, and being only attended by six or seven, went out by the *Fauxbourg St. Michel*, and for sometime staid in the High Road to hear news of the Prince of *Conty*, to whom he had sent notice of his departure: But a second Alarm, yet more ridiculous then the first, obliged him to quit his Post: He heard a great many Horse trotting towards him, so that thinking it was a Squadron sent out to seek for him, he

retreated to *Fleury* near *Meudon*; but these Troops which made him quit the Field, proved to be nothing but *Higlers* that marched all the Night for *Paris*. As soon as the Prince *de Conty* knew that Monsieur le Prince was gone, he sent word to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, who went to him: but Monsieur le Prince obliged him immediatly to return to *Paris* to give the Duke *d'Orleans* an account of the reason of his Departure, and retreat to *St. Maur*. This action of Monsieur le Princes produced amongst People, what great news is wont to do, every one made different Conjectures, and laid different Designs; the appearance of a Change gave Joy to the People, and Fear to all those that were establish'd in Places. The Coadjutor, *Madam de Chevreuse*, and the *Frondeurs*, believed, That the Retreat of Monsieur le Prince would unite them to the Court, and increase their Esteem by the need they would have of them. The Queen, doubtless, foresaw the mischiefs which threatned the State, but she could not be afflicted with a Civil War that advanced the Cardinals return. Monsieur le Prince feared the Consequences of so great an Affair, and could not resolve
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with himself to embrace so vast a design. He distrusted the unconstancy of them who push'd him on to a War, and judged well, that they would not long help him to sustain the weight of it. The Duke *de Bouillon* silently broke off from his Interests, and Marshal *Turenne* had already declared, that for the future he would have no concern in them. The Duke *de Longueville* had a mind to be at quiet; besides, he was too ill satisfied with the Lady his Wife to contribute to a War, which he thought her the principal cause of: Marshal *de la Motte* shifted off from his word that he once gave, to take up Arms. In fine, so many Reasons, and so many Examples, would doubtless have inclined Monsieur *le Prince* to reconcile himself to the Court, if he could have confided in the Queens or the Cardinals words. But the horror of his Imprisonment was yet too fresh in his mind, to expose himself upon such pledges, the value whereof his own Experience had so often given him cause to know: Besides, Madam *de Longueville*, who was again pressed by her Husband to come into *Normandy*, could not avoid the Journey, if the Treaty of Monsieur *le Prince* was once concluded. Amidst
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so many contrary thoughts, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* would needs undertake to secure *Madam de Longueville* from the persecution of her Husband, and persuade *Monsieur le Prince* to Treat with the Court; within a few days after *Monsieur le Prince* arrived at *St. Maur*. *Marshal Grammont* (with whom he refused to Treat in particular) came to him from the King, to demand the reason of his Retreat, and to invite him to return to *Paris*, with a promise that he should be in safety there: *Monsieur le Prince* answered him before a great many people, that the Cardinal *Mazarin* was retreated from the Court, and *Servien*, *le Tellier*, and *Lionne*, were ordered by the Queen to withdraw, yet the Spirit and Maxims of the Cardinal ruled there, and that having suffered so hard and so unjust an Imprisonment, he had found by experience, that his Innocence could not establish his Safety, which he hoped to find in a retreat, wherein he would preserve the same Thoughts (which he had so often given evidence of to the World) for the good of the State and the glory of the King. *Marshal Grammont* was surpris'd and vex'd with the Discourse, he thought to have enter'd upon the

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matter in hand with Monsieur *le Prince*,
 and begun some Negotiation betwixt the
 Court and him. But he had no reason
 to complain if Monsieur *le Prince* refused
 to give credit to the promises he made
 him for his safety, since *Lionne* had made
 choice of him to intrust with the Reso-
 lution they had taken at the Count *de*
Montresors, to Arrest him a second time.
 Monsieur *le Prince de Conty*, and Madam
de Longueville, came to *St. Maur* as soon
 as Monsieur *le Prince*, and at the begin-
 ning this Court was as great and as full
 of Persons of Quality as the Kings: they
 had all manner of Divertisements, which
 they made use of to a politick end; and
 Balls, Commedies, Plays, Hunting, and
 good Chear, drew thither an infinite
 number of those uncertain people who
 always offer their Service at the begin-
 nings of Factions, and betray and aban-
 don them ordinarily, according as their
 Fear or their Interest incites them. Ne-
 vertheless, they thought that this great
 number might break the Measures which
 they might rake to attack *St. Maur*; that
 this, upon any other occasion, useless
 and inconvenient Croud would be ser-
 viceable on this, and give some reputa-
 tion to their Affairs. Never was the
 Court

Court divided into so many different Intrigues, as at this time; the thoughts of the Queen, as I have said, were set upon the Cardinals return; the *Prondans* aimed at *Chateau-neuf's*, for they thought him necessary to accomplish their Designs: they judged, that if he was once more re-establish'd, he could more easily under-hand traverse the Cardinals return, and get possession of his place if he chanc'd to fall. Marshal de *Billeroy* contributed as much as possibly he could, to dispose the Queen to it; but this Affair, as all others, could not be resolved on without the Cardinals consent: whilst they expected his Orders at Court, about the present Affairs, Monsieur le Prince was yet dubious what side he should take, and could not resolve either upon Peace or War. The Duke de la *Rochefoucault* observing the Princes mind so uncertain, thought that he might make use of this Juncture to engage Madam de *Longueville* to go into *Normandy*, and perswade Monsieur le Prince to hearken to Proposals for an Accommodation. With this Design he shew'd Madam de *Longueville*, that there was nothing but her separating her self, that could hinder her from taking the
Journey

Journey she so much feared; that Monsieur le Prince might easily deny her the protection he had till then given her, having so fair a pretence as that of reconciling a Wife to her Husband; and above all, that if he intended thereby to oblige Monsieur de Longueville, they would also accuse her alone as the Fomenter of the disorder: that she would many ways render her self responsible both to her Brother and to the World, for kindling a War in the Kingdom, the Events whereof will be fatal to his Family, or to the State: for the preservation of both, which she was equally interested, he further represented to her, That the excessive Expences, which Monsieur le Prince would be obliged to lay out, would neither leave him the Power, nor it may be the Will to supply hers; and that since she could get nothing from Monsieur de Longueville, she would find her self reduc'd to insupportable want. Lastly, That to remedy so many inconveniencies, it was his advice, That she should desire Monsieur le Prince, that he would be pleased to let Madam la Princess, the Duke d'Anguien, and her Self, retire to *Montrond*, that they might be no trouble to him if he should be obliged

liged to march suddenly, and also be free from the guilt of partaking in the dangerous Resolution he was going to take, either to set the Kingdom on fire by a Civil War, or to trust his Life, his Fortune, and his Liberty, to the doubtful Faith of Cardinal *Mazarin*. *Madam de Longueville* approved of this Advice, and *Monsieur le Prince* was willing it should be followed soon after. The Duke *de Nemours* began to abate his first violence, and though all his passions were still alive, yet he did not demean himself so violently as he did at first. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* design'd to make use of this occasion to sound his Thoughts; He let him know, that they could never find any Interest in a Civil War; that *Monsieur le Prince* might very well ruine their Fortune by ill success, but never advantage them by good: That the same Resolution which hinder'd *Monsieur le Prince* from taking up Arms, would likewise hinder him from laying them down after he had once taken them up: That he would not easily find safety at Court, after he had offended it, since he could not meet with it at a time when he had attempted nothing against it. Lastly, that besides the difficult Hu-

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mour of Monsieur *le Prince*, which he had to manage, he should consider, that by removing him from *Paris*, he removed himself too, and put his Fate into the hands of his Rival. These Reasons found the Duke *de Nemours* disposed to receive them, and either because they let him see further into things than he had done till then; or out of a Levity, ordinary to men of his age, his desires became quite contrary to what they were before, and he resolved to contribute to a Peace, with as much earnestness as he had till then labored for a War; therefore he consulted with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* about the Measures they were to take in order to their mutual acting in this Design. In the mean time, the Queen was more and more incensed against Monsieur *le Prince*. The *Frondeurs* sought all manner of ways to be revenged on him, though in the interim they lost their credit amongst the People, who thought they were in League with the Court. The hatred of the Coadjutor particularly broke out with violence against the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, he, as I said, attributed the Rupture of the Marriage of *Mademoiselle de Chevereuse* chiefly to him, and thinking every thing
lawful

lawful that could but ruine him, forgot nothing that might engage the Duke *de Longueville* to do it by extraordinary and shameful ways : His Coach was also set upon three times in the Night, and he could never know who they were that had a hand in so frequent Assaults. All this Animosity notwithstanding, hinder'd him not from endeavoring, together with the Duke *de Nemours*, to gain his Design ; to which Madam *de Longueville* also assisted, from the time she was assured to go to *Montrond*. But their minds were too much heated to hearken to reason, and all Parties in the end experienced, that neither of them understood their true Interests : Even the Court, which Fortune alone sustained, often made considerable faults, and the Consequence made appear, that both the Cabals were supported more by the defaults of the opposite party, than by its own good Conduct : In the interim, Monsieur *le Prince* employed all his Arts to justify his Intentions, both to the Parliament and the People ; and seeing very well that the War he was going to undertake, wanted a Pretext, he endeavored to find one in the procedure of the Queen, who had recalled to her *Servien* and *le Tellier*,

after she had discarded them at his Request. He endeavor'd also to perswade the World, That their return was not so much to offend him, as to contrive the Cardinals: These Reports being noised abroad amongst the People, made some Impression on them. The Parliament was more divided, the Premier President became Monsieur *le Prince's* Enemy, thinking he contributed to the putting him out from being Keeper of the Seals; those who were gained over to the Court joyned with him, but the Conduct of the *Frondeurs* was more reserved: They durst not appear well-affected to the Cardinal, though they really desired to serve him. Things were thus when Monsieur *le Prince* left *St. Maur* to return to *Paris*. He believed himself in a condition to stand against the Court there, and that his high and bold demeanor, would give reputation to his Affairs. At the same time he sent away Madam *la Princess*, the Duke *d'Anguien*, and Madam *de Longueville*, to *Montrend*, with a resolution to go thither himself soon after, and from thence to *Guyenne*, where they were well disposed to receive him. He sent the Count *de Tavannes* to his Troops which served in
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the Army of *Champaigne*, with a Command to march them in a Body to *St. nay*, as soon as he sent him Orders: He also laid Provisions into his Fortified places, and had Two hundred thousand Crowns ready Cash: thus he prepared for a War, though he had not yet entirely laid the Design: Notwithstanding, at his return, he endeavored to engage people of Quality into his Interests, and amongst others the Duke de *Brillon*, and Marshal *Turenne*, they were both particular Friends to the Duke de *la Rochefoucault*, who forgot nothing to induce them to take the same party which he saw himself obliged to follow. The Duke de *Brillon* then seem'd to him to be unresolv'd, he being willing to find his Security and Advantage, because he almost alike distrusted the Court and Monsieur le Prince, intended to see the Affair engaged before he would declare himself. Marshal *Turenne* on the contrary, spoke to him always in the same manner since his return from *Stenay*. He told him, That he had no reason either to thank, or to complain of Monsieur le Prince, for not having imparted to him some things wherein indeed he had no mind to have been engaged: That he

thought himself obliged to forget nothing, that might contribute to the Liberty of Monsieur *le Prince*, but he pretended that the engagement he had to him, ought to cease with his Imprisonment, and so he might make new Alliances according as his Inclination or Interest moved him. He added also, That Monsieur *le Prince* had not imploy'd him in any thing since his return to *Paris*, and had been so far from taking his Measures by consulting with him, and making him a Confident in his Designs, that he not only removed him from his Counsels, but also chose to let those very Troops who had but just before fought for him under his Command, perish, rather than to speak one word to get them Winter Quarters. These were the Reasons why Marshal *Turennes* refused to follow the Fortune of Monsieur *le Prince* a second time. The Duke *d'Enillon* in the interim, who avoided as much as he could to declare what he would do, found himself hard enough put to it not to answer precisely. Monsieur *le Prince* and he, chose the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to be Mediator betwixt them, but because he would not be Surety for the Word of either of them, and knew well, that a Post
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like this, is always nice, having to deal with people who are to agree upon so many important and different Articles, he engaged them themselves to tell their Opinions before him. It happened, contrary to the usual custom of such interviews, that their conversation ended without any distaste, and both of them remained satisfied, without being tyed or engaged to any thing. At that time, it seemed, the chief aim of the Court and of Monsieur *le Prince*, to render the Parliament favorable to them. The *Frondeurs* affectedly pretended to have no other Interest but the Publick's, and under this pretence, they clash'd with Monsieur *le Prince* in every thing, and opposed all his Designs; at the beginning they acted with some reservedness, but seeing themselves openly encouraged by the Court, the Coadjutor had the vanity openly to declare himself Monsieur *le Prince's* enemy: from that time, he not only beyond all moderation thwarted whatsoever he proposed, but also never went to the Palais without his Friends, and a great number of Armed men to attend him. This insolent and haughty procedure, did not without reason displease Monsieur *le Prince*, who thought

it no less insupportable to be forced to go well attended to the Palais, that he might dispute the way with the Coadjutor, than to go thither alone, and so expose his Life and his Liberty into the hands of his most dangerous enemy: therefore he believed, that he ought to prefer his safety to every thing else, and resolved to go no more to the Parliament without being accompanied by all that were of his Interest. The Queen was glad to see a new subject of Division arise betwixt two men, whom she almost equally hated in her heart: she imagined, that the Consequences of it would be such, as to give her hopes of being revenged of one by the other, or to see them both perish; nevertheless, she in appearance gave her protection to the Coadjutor, and permitted him to be guarded by a party of the Kings *Gens-d'armes*, and his Light Horse, and by the Officers and Souldiers of the Regiment of Guards. Monsieur le Prince was attended by a great many Persons of Quality, and many Officers, and by a croud of People of all Professions, who never left him since he return'd from *St. Maur*: This confusion of People of different Parties, being all together in
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the great Hall in the Palais, made the Parliament fear lest some disorder should happen, which might involve every one in particular in the same danger, and no body be capable of appeasing it. To prevent this mischief, the Premier President resolved to beseech Monsieur *le Prince* not to come to the Palais any more thus accompanied; but one day, when the Duke *d'Orleans* was not there, and Monsieur *le Prince* and the Coadjutor were come with all their Friends, the number and animosities on both sides seemed so great, that it augmented the Presidents fear: Monsieur *le Prince* also spoke some provoking words, which he addressed to the Coadjutor; but he answer'd them without concern, and dared publickly to say, that his Enemies could never accuse him of breaking his word, and that now adays there are few persons exempted from this fault: by which words he plainly pointed at Monsieur *le Prince*, and reproached him not only for breaking the Engagements he had enter'd into with the *Frondeurs*, about the Marriage of his Brother with *Madamoiselle de Chevreuse*, but also alledged the business of *Noyse*, when the Prince *de Conty*, Madam, and *Madamoiselle*

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selle de Longueville, and the Messieurs of *Retz*, laid the foundations of the War of *Paris*, and Monsieur le Prince promised to head them; not to remove the Cardinal, as the Publick intended, but only to make his Conditions better with him, and have the merit of securing him from mischief, which so powerful a Cabal was not able to do. These Reports being noised abroad by the Coadjutors adherents, and also renewed so boldly before the Parliament when assembled, and before Monsieur le Prince himself, might have made him more sensible of the Affront, than he at that time appeared to be. He mastered his Resentment, and gave no answer to the Coadjutors Discourse. At the same time some came to advertise them, that the great Hall was full of Armed men, who being spurr'd on by Interests so opposite, would certainly create very great Disorders, if they were not speedily prevented. Upon this, the Premier President told Monsieur le Prince, that the Company would be infinitely obliged to him, if he would order those who followed him to withdraw; that they were assembled to remedy the disorders of the State, not to augment them, and that nobody would
be.

believe they were so entirely free to speak their Opinions, as they ought to be, so long as they saw the Palais (which should be the *Asylum* of Justice) serve as a place of Arms for all that were capable of raising a Tumult and Sedition. Monsieur le Prince immediately offered to make his Friends withdraw, and desired the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to send them away without disorder: The Coadjutor rose, and said, That he was going to do the same by his: And he really did go out of the great Chamber to speak to his Friends; the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* went eight or ten paces behind him, and was yet in the place called the *Parquet des Hussiers*, when the Coadjutor was got into the great Hall; as soon as they saw him, all his party drew their Swords without any reason, and Monsieur le Prince's Friends did the same, every one rang'd himself on that side he was to serve, and in an instant the two Parties came within the length of their Swords to one another; and yet amongst so many brave men, animated by so many different hatreds, there was not one that made a pass with his Sword, or shot off a Pistol; The Coadjutor seeing so great a Disorder, intended to withdraw
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and return to the great Chamber; but coming to the door, which goes from the Hall to the *Parquet des Huffiers*, he found the Duke de la Rochefoucault possessed of it: nevertheless, he attempted to force it open, but it being only half shut, the Duke de la Rochefoucault, who held it, just as the Coadjutor enter'd, clapt it too and catch'd him by the middle, keeping his Head on the side of the *Parquet*, and his Body in the Hall. This opportunity might have tempted the Duke de la Rochefoucault, after all that had pass'd betwixt them: General and particular Reasons push'd him on to destroy his most mortal enemy, besides the easiness of revenging himself, by revenging Monsieur le Prince for the affront and reproach which he had but just before received: he saw also, that the Life of the Coadjutor ought to pay for the Disorder which he was the cause of; but he likewise consider'd, that they had not yet struck a stroak in the Hall, and that no body came against him to defend the Coadjutor, and therefore that he had not the same pretence to assault him, which he might have had if the Fight had been begun; besides, the Servants of Monsieur le Prince did not imagine
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of what importance the Service was which they might do their Master in this juncture. In fine, one because he would not do an action which might look like cruelty; and the rest, for want of resolution in a great Affair, and capacity to go through with it, gave time to *Champlatrenx*, the Premier Presidents Son, to arrive with an Order to disengage the Coadjutor, and free him from the greatest danger he was ever in. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* seeing him in the hands of *Champlatrenx*, returned into the great Chamber and took his place: the Coadjutor came thither at the same time, with all the trouble that an accident like this which he had escaped, could give him, he began to complain to the Assembly of the violence of the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*; he said, that he had like to have been assassinated, and that he held him at the Door only to expose him to whatever attempt his Enemies would make against his person. The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* answered, That Fear must have certainly taken away his liberty of judging of what pass'd at that time, otherwise he wou'd have seen that he had no design to kill him, since he did not do so, when he
had

had his Life in his hands a long time; that indeed he was possessed of the Door, and hindred him from entring, because he believed not that he ought to expose Monsieur le Prince and the Parliament, to the Disorder which his men raised when they saw him come, purely to prevent his fear. This Discourse was also followed with some injurious menaces which he publicly threatened him with, insomuch that the Duke de Brissac thought himself obliged to answer him. The Duke de la Rochefoucault and he appointed to Fight that very day without Seconds, but because the occasion of their Quarrel was publick, it was instantly made up by the Duke d'Orleans. This Affair, which in all appearance was like to produce ill Consequences, put an end to that which might have most contributed to Disorders, for the Coadjutor avoided coming again to the Palais; and so being no more where Monsieur le Prince was, he had no occasion to fear an Accident, like this which he had so narrowly escaped. Nevertheless, Fortune, which rules men more than their own Conduct, brought these two together at a time when they least thought of it, and in a condition
far

far different from what they had been in at the Palais; for one day when Monsieur *le Prince* went abroad in his Coach with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and was followed by a prodigious croud of people, he met with the Coadjutor dress'd in his Episcopal Robes, and going a Procession with a great many Shrines and Relicks, Monsieur *le Prince* immediately stopp'd, to shew more Reverence to the Church, and the Coadjutor walking on till he came over against Monsieur *le Prince*, made a low bow, and gave him and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* his Blessing; both of them received it with all the appearances of Respect, though neither of them wish'd it might have that effect the Coadjutor desired; at this time the people who followed Monsieur *le Prince*, being moved with such a rencounter, cryed out against the Coadjutor, and were ready to pull him in pieces, but that Monsieur *le Prince* sent out his men to appease the Tumult, and reduce them into order.

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The War of Guyenne.

THe War in * *Guienne* was * *Gascony*. maintain'd much more by the vigilance and reputation of the Prince of *Condy*, than either by the number or the valour of his Soldiers; and the Count *de Harcourt* had already repair'd by his Conduct and Fortune, all the disadvantages that the Defeat of the Marquis *de St. Luc* at *Miradoux* had brought to the Kings Army; the Siege of *Miradoux* was rais'd, the Prince of *Condy's* Guards, with three or four hundred Horse, were taken in their Quarters, where *Persan*, and the Prince of *Condy* himself, with the rest of his Troops, were forc'd to quit his Post, for to pass the River of *Garonne* to *Bouc*, and from thence to retire himself to *Agen*; but the Divisions which were in the Town, made the Prince soon sensible that it would remain on his Party no longer than he retain'd it by his presence, or by a strong Garrison: 'twas therefore to secure it by this last means, that he resolv'd to put into it the Regiment of Infantry *de Conty*, and to

to make himself Master of one of the Gates of the Town, whereby he might take away from the People the liberty of refusing a Garison ; but this Design not being secret, it was immediatly spread through the whole City, and in an instant all the Citizens were in Arms, fortifying themselves with Barricado's; of which the Prince of *Condy* being inform'd, got strait on Horse-back for to hinder the Sedition by his presence, and to secure the Port *de Grave* till he could put it into the possession of the Regiment that was marching towards the Town. But the arrival of the Soldiers increased the disorder, instead of appeasing of it, they having entred the Town, halted in the first Street, and tho both the Prince of *Condy* and the Prince of *Conty*, and the Officers, us'd all possible means to calm the disorder, yet the Streets, for all they could do, were instantly all Baricado'd ; the People notwithstanding still preserv'd their respect for the Prince of *Condy*, and for the rest of the General Officers, though the Peoples disaffection to them increas'd in all those places where they were not present. It being impossible for things to remain any longer in this condition, the

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Souldiers were possessed of the Port *de Grave*, and half that Street which led to it: the People were up in Arms, all the Streets Baricado'd, and Guards set every where.

The Night coming on, which augmented the Confusion, and the Prince of *Condy* seeing himself reduc'd either shamefully to quit the Town, or else to plunder and burn it; but he found on which soever he should determine, it would apparently ruine his Affairs, for if he left *Agen*, the Kings Troops would be receiv'd into it; and if he burnt it, that severe usage would incense the whole Province against him; the most considerable Towns whereof were still firm to his Party: which reasons induc'd him to attempt an Accommodation that might in appearance preserve his Authority, and serve him for a Pretext to pardon the people of *Agen*. The Duke de *la Rochefaucault* wrought upon the principal Citizens to retire themselves to the Town-House, and there depute some one of them to go to the Prince, and intreat his pardon, and to beseech him to come to their Assembly, to prescribe to them what means he should think fittest to preserve the Town, in
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the Submission and Fidelity that they had sworn to him. The Prince went thither, and assur'd them, that his intention always was to leave them their Liberties intire, and that that Regiment was only enter'd to ease the Citizens in the keeping of the Guard; but since that they desir'd it not, he would be content it should go out again, if so be that the Town would maintain a Regiment at its own expence, the Officers whereof should be at his disposal: They willingly accepted the Conditions, and threw down all their Barricado's. The Souldiers march'd out, and the Town was in quiet, and seem'd in as much submission as it was before the Disturbance. But the Prince of *Condy*, not being willing to trust to appearances, staid some time at *Agen*, to re-establish the Town in its former state; in which time he receiv'd the News, That the Army from *Flanders* (under the Command of the Duke de *Nemours*) and the Troops of the Duke of *Orleans*, Commanded by the Duke of *Beauford*, were joyn'd, and on their March toward the *Loyre*. Nevertheless, this Joy was mingled with many unquiet Thoughts; for on one side he saw in the middle of *France*, a *Spanish*

Army, that he had so long expected, and which could either Relieve *Montrond*, or come and joyn him in *Guyenne*; but at the same time he knew that the division between the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Beaufort*, was come to a very dangerous Extremity. They could not agree if together, that their Forces, when separated, were not able to maintain the Field against the Kings Army, Commanded by the Marshals of *Turenne* and *d'Hoquincourt*, and Fortified by the Troops which the Cardinal had brought, but much more by the Voyage of the Court: The Orders of the Duke *de Nemours*, was to pass the *Loire* and relieve *Montrond*, and then march straight away to *Guyenne*; but those which the Duke *de Beaufort* had receiv'd from the Duke *d'Orleans*, were intirely opposite: for Monsieur could not consent that the Army should be so far from *Paris*, for he apprehended, that either the People or the Parliament might change their minds, when they saw the Duke *de Nemours* pass with his Army into *Guyenne*, and the King's Forces remain in their Neighborhood. The Coadjutor of *Paris*, in whom Monsieur more confided than in any body, seconded this Ad-

vce,

wice, and still increased the Fears and the natural Irresolutions of that Prince, for by detaining the Army on this side of the *Loire*, he not only made it useless to the Prince of *Condy*, whose Enemy he was, but he render'd himself more considerable at Court, by shewing them, That being so much master of Monsieur's Counsels, it was in his power either to advance or retard the progress of the Army : and thus he made use of all sort of ways to obtain the Cardinals Cap. Neither was *Chauviny's* Designs less on his side ; for he pretended to govern Monsieur in the letting him know, that he govern'd Monsieur *le Prince* , and assur'd himself to become Master of his Counsels, by shewing of him that he was Master of Monsieur's : But his projects stopt not there, for from the beginning of the War he had taken his Measures to become Negotiator of the Peace, to which end he joyn'd himself to the Duke *de Rohan*, believing that he might be equally useful to him, both with Monsieur, and with Monsieur *le Prince* : He thought also, that he had taken all necessary precautions, as to the Cardinal, by the help of *Faber* ; and as he set no bounds neither to his Ambition

nor his Hopes, he doubted not, having made the particular Peace, but that he should be chosen to go along with the Cardinal *Mazarin* to conclude the general; and then he believed, in making use of the Reputation that Monsieur le Prince was able to give him among the *Spaniards*, he should acquire all the merit of the good success, and that the Cardinal on the contrary, would return loaden with shame, and accus'd of all the mischievous Events, and so re-enter into the management of Affairs, either with the Glory of having made the Peace, or else with the Advantage of having publish'd to the World, that the Cardinal had hinder'd it. In prospect whereof, he writ several times to the Prince of *Condy*, to press him to leave *Guyenne*: he represented to him how needful his Presence was in the Army, that if he let that be destroy'd, all hopes of Recruits would be lost; and that Marching into the Heart of the Kingdom, and even before the Kings Face, he would in a moment, not only re-establish *Guyenne*, but also all the rest of his party. The Prince of *Condy* yielded easily to Monsieur *Chavigny's* persuasions, but the chiefmotive which induc'd him

him to it, was the desire he had to quit *Guyenne*, in a time when the weakness of his Army forc'd him continually to decline the Count *d'Harcourt*: He communicated his Design to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and *Marfin*, they both alike represented to him what there was to be fear'd, and what to be hoped in it, but neither of them would venture to give him their advice concerning it, but both immediately begg'd, that he would give them leave to wait upon him; he chose the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* to go along with him, and left *Marfin* with the Prince of *Conty*, reposing intirely upon him the design to maintain his Interest in *Guyenne*; and not only to preserve *Bordeaux* in spite of all the divisions that had been fomented amongst the People, and in the Parliament, but also, to take care that the different Interests of the Prince of *Conty*, and Madam *de Longueville*, might not increase their misunderstandings, and so hasten the loss of the Town. The state of Affairs in the Town was thus, The people were divided in two Cabals, one whereof consisted of the richest Citizens, whose opinion was, That they ought to maintain the authority of their Magistrates,

and make themselves so powerful and necessary in the Town, that both Monsieur *le Prince* and the Parliament might look upon them, as those who were most capable to serve them : The other Cabal was form'd of the poorest & most seditious, who often assembling, though without any design, in a place near the Castle of *Ha*, call'd *Horme* ; from thence took the name of *Hormees*. The Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutches of *Longneville*, much more for their particular Interest, than for their Interest of the party, supported that Faction, and made it much more powerful in *Bourdeaux*. They both labored alike to accomplish this Design, though for quite different Reasons : The Prince *de Conty* inclin'd to Peace, through his natural fickleness, which chiefly made him hate the War, because he had so earnestly desired it ; he alledg'd afterwards, that Monsieur *le Prince*, after having set his hand that he would not Treat without his being made Governor of *Province*, was now absolutely gone from his Word in what concern'd his Interests ; but the principal reason of his disingaging himself, was, that all those about him (being gain'd by the Cardinal *Mazarin*) perswaded him

him gloriously to break with the Dut-
 chess *de Longueville*, upon pretexts
 which the near Alliance and Interest
 of Blood oblig'd him to conceal. As
 for the Dutchess *de Longueville*, she then
 believ'd her self irreconcilable with her
 Husband; she had made many fruitless
 attempts to return to Court, by the
 Princess Palatine; she beheld the Prince
 of *Conty* transported with rage and jea-
 lousie, which had been much more par-
 donable in a Lover, than a Brother:
 Moreover, she knew if the Prince of
Condy spoke less of her behavior than
 he, that he had not a more advantage-
 ous opinion of it: He was inform'd how
 she design'd to ruine his Party, by very
 extraordinary ways, for the Interest of
 the Duke *de Nemours*; and also fear'd,
 that if she took a like Inclination to an-
 other, she was liable to be carried to the
 same Extrems if he desir'd it. Seeing
 her self then equally ruin'd on either
 side, she now believ'd that she had no
 way left to restore her self, but to make
 her self a party in *Bourdeaux*, which
 might be powerful enough to give her a
 new Reputation, either with the Prince
 of *Condy*, or with the Court; in view
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 tageous

and make themselves so powerful and necessary in the Town, that both Monsieur *le Prince* and the Parliament might look upon them, as those who were most capable to serve them : The other Cabal was form'd of the poorest & most seditious, who often assembling, though without any design, in a place near the Castle of *Ha*, call'd *Horme* ; from thence took the name of *Hormees*. The Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, much more for their particular Interest, than for their Interest of the party, supported that Faction, and made it much more powerful in *Bourdeaux*. They both labored alike to accomplish this Design, though for quite different Reasons : The Prince *de Conty* inclin'd to Peace, through his natural fickleness, which chiefly made him hate the War, because he had so earnestly desired it ; he alledg'd afterwards, that Monsieur *le Prince*, after having set his hand that he would not Treat without his being made Governor of *Province*, was now absolutely gone from his Word in what concern'd his Interests ; but the principal reason of his disingaging himself, was, that all those about him (being gain'd by the Cardinal *Mazarin*) perswaded him

him gloriously to break with the Dutchess *de Longueville*, upon pretexts which the near Alliance and Interest of Blood oblig'd him to conceal. As for the Dutchess *de Longueville*, she then believ'd her self irreconcilable with her Husband; she had made many fruitless attempts to return to Court, by the Princess Palatine; she beheld the Prince of *Conty* transported with rage and jealousy, which had been much more pardonable in a Lover, than a Brother: Moreover, she knew if the Prince of *Condy* spoke less of her behavior than he, that he had not a more advantageous opinion of it: He was inform'd how she design'd to ruine his Party, by very extraordinary ways, for the Interest of the Duke *de Nemours*; and also fear'd, that if she took a like Inclination to another, she was liable to be carried to the same Extrems if he desir'd it. Seeing her self then equally ruin'd on either side, she now believ'd that she had no way left to restore her self, but to make her self a party in *Bourdeaux*, which might be powerful enough to give her a new Reputation, either with the Prince of *Condy*, or with the Court; in view whereof, she found nothing so advantageous

tageous to her Design, as to joyn with the *Hormees*, and to engage herself with the most considerable of them. Neither was the Parliament more united than the People; those who were against the Court were divided into two Bodies, one whereof was call'd the Great, and the other the Little *Fronde*, although they both agreed to be of the Interest of Monsieur *le Prince*; they were very opposite in all other things. In the beginning the Army joyn'd with both the *Fronde*s, but often separated from them, which Changes were managed by different Interests, which commonly makes men act in that manner. But at length the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutcheß of *Longueville* increas'd the Credit and the Insolence of that Faction so high to gain it to themselves, that they advanc'd the ruine of the Party, by putting the Parliament and the rest of the People in despair, and giving occasion to so many Plots, and to all those private Intelligences with the Court, which since put *Bourdeaux* into the Kings power. The Prince of *Conty* made use of these Divisions to ruine his Sisters credit, and the Dutcheß of *Longueville* endeavor'd to establish it in *Bourdeaux*,

to retrieve what she had lost with the Prince of *Condy* ; but he who foresaw what Inconveniencies such opposite Opinions would produce in his party, and who believ'd moreover, That the Discontents and Divisions increased by his absence, left *Marsin*, as I said, to put a stop to these great Disorders, and on every occasion to take care, that neither the Prince of *Conty*, nor the Dutches of *Longueville*, undertook any thing that might be prejudicial to him, during his absence; therefore as soon as he had regulated the Affairs of the Army, with *Marsin* and *Laisny*, as also the Cabals of *Bourdeaux*, and those in his own Family, he left the Prince of *Conty* behind him at *Agen*; and leaving all things under his management, he desired him to follow the Advices of *Marsin* and *Laisny*: He seem'd also to repose a great confidence in the President *Viole*, but to speak the truth, he did not think he left one man behind him in *Bourdeaux*, that was really true to his Interest, but only those two that I have named. Things being thus settled, he prepar'd to quit *Agen*, to go and joyn Monsieur de *Nemour's* Army: This Journey was extreamly long, and so full of Difficulties, that
 he

he could not reasonably hope to surmount them. The Count *d'Harcourt* was Camp'd nigh *Agen*, and there was too many in the Town gain'd by the Court, not to inform him of Monsieur *le Prince's* departure, those of his own party had before suspected it, insomuch that it was reported, even before he had resolv'd it himself; he was to go near six score Leagues, and all the way upon the same Horses, so that the Count *de Harcourt* might not only send a party to pursue him, or give advice to the Court of his going, but also send to all the Towns and Garrisons to stop him. Moreover, he could not confide a matter of such Consequence to many, and a few were not capable to accompany him with safety: It was necessary to perswade the World, that he was only going to *Bordeaux*, and to hinder the Officers of the Army from waiting upon him thither, upon pretences which could give no cause of suspecting what he design'd: for which reason he left the Prince of *Conty* at *Agen*, and pretending to go to *Bordeaux* for two or three days, only he gave Orders to all the Officers and Voluntiers, to stay at *Agen* with his Brother, From whence he parted on *Palm Sunday*,

Sunday, about twelve of the Clock, accompanied by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, le Prince, *de Marillac*, *Guitault*, and *Chavinac*, *Gourville*, and one *valet de Chambre*: The Marquis *de Levy* waited with Horses for him at *Langez*, where he found also *Bercénes*, Captain of the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*'s Guards. And as the Marquis *de Levy* had a Pass from the Count *d'Harcourt*, to return home with all his Train to his own House in *Anvergne*, the Prince of *Condy*, and those that accompanied him, follow'd him as his Attendants, and were to go for the same Servants whose Names were written in his Pass, though they were resolv'd never to make use of it. What was most severe in this Journey, was, That our extraordinary haste obliged us to Travel both Day and Night, and almost always upon the same Horses, without ever staying any where above two hours in one place, either to sleep or eat: They lodg'd at two or three Gentlemens Houses, Friends of the Marquis *de Levy*'s, to take some small rest, and to see if they could buy any Horses: But these Gentlemen so little suspected Monsieur le Prince to be what he was, that once at Dinner, when Men commonly

monly speak their Thoughts more freely than at other times, he heard things of some of those that were nearest him, which till then it may be he never knew. At length, taking his way through the Vicounty of *Turenne* and *Charlus* in *Auvergne*, he arriv'd on Saturday night at *Bac-d'Alie*, two Leagues distant from *la Charity*, where he past the River *de Loire* without any interruption, although that two Troops of Horse lay in *la Charity*, Commanded by *Buffy Robatin*: From thence he dispatch'd *Gourville* in all haste to *Paris*, to inform his Royal Highness and *Chavigny* of his coming. He staid all *Easter Day* in *Cosnes*, where a Guard was kept; and as the Court was but at *Gien*, he pretended that he was going thither, with the rest of his Companions, to wait their Quarter upon the King; nevertheless, finding that they could not long keep the Highway to the Court, without being known, they resolv'd to quit it, and take that which leads to *Chatillon*, and he began to think he had reason to repent his neglecting it so long: For meeting two Couriers, whereof one knew *Guitaut*, and though he did not stop to speak to him, shew'd concern enough in his Face to make them

them think that he suspected Monsieur
le Prince to be there, which he presently
 after discovered to be certainly true.
 For afterwards meeting with Monsieur *le*
Prince's Valet de Chambre, who had staid
 behind, he stop't him, and by making
 him believe he would kill him, he per-
 ceiv'd that his suspicion was well found-
 ed; which accident made Monsieur *le*
Prince resolve not only to quit the High
 Road that very time, but also to leave
Bercennes, Captain of the Guards, to
 the Duke de *la Rochefoucault*, amongst
 the rubbish of a ruin'd House, near a
 Bridge, to kill the Courier in case he
 took that Road, which appear'd the
 way he must go to give notice to the
 Court, of the Prince of *Condy's* Journey.
 But Fortune led his steps another way;
 so that he carried in haste to *Gien* the
 News of what he had seen. *St. Mauro*
 was presently dispatch'd with twenty
 chosen men to watch for Monsieur *le*
Prince, in the way between *Chastillon*
 and the Duke de *Nemours's* Army, with
 order to take him either alive or dead.
 The Prince of *Condy*, although he saw
 that this Incounter must inevitably dis-
 cover his Passage, march'd with full
 speed towards *Chastillon*: But as we were
 forced

forced to go that day Six and thirty Leagues upon the same Horses, the necessity of Baiting made us lose much time, and gave St. *Maure* what he wish'd for, to overtake us. Another accident also had like to have caus'd Monsieur *le Prince* to be taken, for being come to the *Canal de Briare*, he met the Quarter-masters of two or three Regiments of Horse, who came thither before for Quarters; and as the main Body advanc'd from different parts, it was difficult to take any way secure. *Chavaignac*, who was acquainted with a Gentleman named *la Bruslery*, who liv'd near that place, taking *Guitant* with him to get something for the Prince of *Condy* to eat, But as that was a day destin'd to Adventures, as soon as ever *Chavaignac* went out of the House to seek for the Master of it, and to invite *Guitant* in, an Officer of the fore-mentioned Regiments came thither; and all that the Mistress of the House could do, in the Fear she was in, lest some disturbance might arrive in her House by the meeting of Men of different Parties, was to send her Daughter to meet *Guitant*, and tell him, That an Officer of the Kings Army was just come into the House, Whil'st
this

this happened, Monsieur le Prince, who staid expecting Chanaignac and Gnitant, could remain no longer in the place that they had left him in, because of the arrival of the Souldiers, he sent his *Valet de Chambre* before to Chastillon, to tell the House-keeper to have the Park gates open, so that he had no body left with him but the Duke de la Rochefoucault and the Prince de Marcillac. They went nevertheless still on towards Chastillon, the Prince de Marcillac rode about one hundred yards before Monsieur le Prince, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault followed him about the same distance, that either of them might give him notice if any danger approach'd, which might give him the advantage to save himself. They had not rode on far in that posture, when they heard the noise of shooting off Pistols, that way which the *Valet de Chambre* was gon, and immediately there appeared four Horse-men upon their left hand, who came Trotting up towards them: They undoubtedly believ'd they were pursued, therefore concluded to Charge these four men that advanc'd toward them, and Faced about with a Resolution rather to dye than be taken: But being come nearer, they

P

per.

perceived it was *Chauvignac*, who, with three other Gentlemen, had been seeking after them, and from thence they all arriv'd at *Chastillon* without any further danger. And then the Prince of Condé heard news of his Army that he was going to joyn; he was told that it was not far from *Lory*, near the Forest of *Orleans*, about eight Leagues distance from *Chastillon*. He was told moreover, That there was ten or twelve Light-horse of the Kings Guard, besides several of the Kings Officers, lodg'd in the Town of *Chastillon*; wherefore fearing to be discovered, he parted from thence for *Lory* in all speed about Midnight, with a Guide, but the Guide had like to have been the cause of his being taken; for after having travelled a long time, he found they were not above a little League from *Gien*, when quitting that Road, to go into that which leads to *Lory*, Monsieur le Prince passed within thirty yards of the place, where *Saint Maur* waited for him; and whether it was that he knew him not, or that he durst not attack him, nothing interrupted his passage to *Lory*, where he had certain intelligence of his Army, which lay but two Leagues from him:

He

He would have staid to have baited his Horses at *Lory*; but although he still took the same care to disguise himself, that he had done all the rest of the way, Both he and the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, were known by some of the Inhabitants of the Town, many whereof were the Kings and the Duke *d'Orleans's* Servants; but that rather prov'd serviceable to him than hinder'd him, for some of them got on Horseback, and bore him company to the Army. He met the Van-Guard at the entry of the Forest of *Orleans*, where some of the Horse ask'd him, Who comes there? but immediately knowing of him, the whole Army was in so great Surprise and Joy, that it cannot be express'd, for it never had more need of him, and never less expected to see him. The animosity between the Duke *de Nemours*, and the Duke *de Beauford* still increased, in so much, that the hopes of the party daily diminished by the Divisions that were amongst the Heads of it, and at a time when the approaches of the King and his Army, ought to have made them prefer the Publick Interest before Private Quarrels, to make an end whereof, was of too great Importance to Monsieur

le Prince, not to endeavor it with all imaginable eagerness; and what plain'd his way, and made it more easie for him to perform, was, That his arrival taking away from them both, their chief Commands, it also took away the principal Spring which fed their Jealousie and Hatred. Things being in this posture the Army march'd to *Lory*, where it rested one day, and then march'd forward three or four more; in which time they came to the Walls of *Montargis*, which yielded without the least resistance; but they soon quitted that place, which being stored with Corn and Wine, might be serviceable in time of more need: besides, it would be an example of their moderation, which might produce many advantageous Effects to the party in other Towns. The Army march'd from *Montargis* to *Chasteau-renard*, where *Gourville* arriv'd at the same time from *Paris*, to inform the Prince what his Friends opinions were, how he ought to carry himself towards Monsieur and the Parliament: Their Counsels were quite different, for some of them advised him to stay with the Army, representing to him, That the whole Resolutions of Monsieur and the Parliament, always de-

depended upon the event of this War, and that as long as he was at the Head of a Victorious Army, the Power of the King would be in his hands, instead whereof, his going to *Paris* would deprive his Army of all the Reputation which his presence gave them, and would oblige him to leave the Command of it to those same people, whose Divisions and Incapacities were before upon the very Brink of producing so great Disorder. *Chavigny*, on the contrary, sent positively to Monsieur *le Prince*, that his Presence was absolutely necessary at *Paris*, that the Cabals of the Court and of Cardinal *de Retz*, daily increased in the Parliament, and undoubtedly they would draw the Duke *d'Orleans* in to them; if Monsieur *le Prince* came not himself to free him from the dependance he was now in, and to put the Duke *de Rohan* and *Chavigny* in possession of a place, for which without his presence, they could not contend any longer with the Cardinal *de Retz*. But the Dispute ended, in that they both concluded it was the best course now to fall upon the Kings Army. At this time the Prince had advice, That the Marshal *d'Hoquincourt's* Brigade was still

in quarters, separated from the rest of the Army very near *Chasteau-Renard*, & that the next day they were to joyn with the Marshal *de Turenne*, which made him resolve to March that very moment with his whole Army, straight to attack the Marshal *d'Hoquincourt*, before he could have time to draw his Troops together, and retreat to the Marshal *de Turenne*; which Attempt prov'd very successful. On his first approach, he fell upon two of their Quarters, which gave the Alarm to the rest, but that hinder'd him not from being presently Victorious over five, whereof the four first made small resistance: But the Marshal *d'Hoquincourt* drawing himself up in Battle with Eight hundred Horse, upon the side of a Brook, where they could not pass over but one by one, upon a Bank of Earth very narrow and much broken, seem'd as if he would Dispute this Pass with them; beyond which, the rest of his Men were Quartered that they were going to attack: But when he saw that those under the Command of the Duke *de Nemours*, and three or four others were pass'd, he retreated behind the Quarters, leaving them to be plunder'd, and rang'd himself there again in Battle,

to try if he could take his time, and Charge them in the heat of the Plunder. Those Quarters there, made no more resistance than the others had done, but the Houses being all thatch'd, as soon as they had set them on Fire, they gave so great a Light, that it was easie for the Marshal *d'Hoquecourt* to discern the number of men that were pass'd over, and perceiving that there was not above One hundred Horse, he advanc'd with above Eight hundred to attack them. The Prince of *Condy*, who saw the Force of that Cavalry just coming to break upon them, presently made a Squadron of those that were about him, and went to meet the Enemy, though with so unequal a number, that it appear'd as if Chance had drawn them together in that place, all the General Officers of his Army, to shew him how much one unprosperous Event was capable to make him lose, the first Rank where he himself was, was compos'd of the Duke de *Nemours*, the Duke de *Beaufort*, and the Duke de la *Rochefoucault*, the Prince de *Marcillac*, the Marquis de *Clinchant*, who Commanded the *Spanish* Troops, the Count de *Tananes* Lieuten. General, *Guitault*, *Saucoart*, and several other Officers :

The two Squadrons discharg'd upon each other very close, without one man stirring a foot; but two others engaging presently after, that which Monsieur le Prince was at the head of, the Duke de Nemours received a Shot with a Pistol quite through his Body, and had his Horse killed under him. The Prince of Condé's Squadron not being able any longer to maintain their Ground against two so violent Charges, foot to foot, broke, and retreated One hundred yards in disorder, towards the Quarter which was on Fire; but the Prince, and the rest of the General Officers that were with him, getting again to the head of it stop't it, and the Enemy was satisfied with making them retire, without pressing it any further: There was only some few Officers and Horse that advanced, and the Prince de Marillac, who was a dozen or fifteen yards behind the retiring Squadron, turn'd about to an Officer, and kill'd him. Between the two Squadrons, the Prince of Condé, as was said before, stop'd his men, and made them face about to the Enemy, which durst not push the advantage they had gain'd for fear they should be back'd with Foot. This disorder had given time to a Squadron

dron of thirty chosen Men to pass the Brook : The Prince of *Condy* immediately put himself at the head of them, with the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and attack'd the Marshal *d'Hoquecourt* in the Flank, while the Duke *de Beaufort* charged him in the Front, with a Squadron that the Prince had left him for that purpose, which totally overthrew the Enemy ; some whereof flew into *Bleneau*, and the rest they pursu'd three or four Leagues towards *Auxerre*, without ever endeavoring so much as to rally : They lost all their Baggage, besides Three hundred Horses that were taken. The Victory had been much greater, but that Monsieur *le Prince* was informed, that the Marshal *de Turenne's* Army was come in sight. This News made him return back to his Foot which were scattered about to Plunder ; and after having rallied his Men, he marched toward the Marshal *de Turenne*, who had drawn up his Army in a large Plain, within less then Musket shot of a far extended Wood, through the middle whereof the Prince of *Condy's* Army was to pass, to come to him. This Passage was wide enough of it self for ten Squadrons to march in a Front ; but as it was a very Marshy Ground, they
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were oblig'd to make so many Ditches to drain it, that they could not march to the Plain without breaking their Ranks. The Prince of *Condé*, seeing that the plain was possessed by the Enemy, put his Foot upon the Right hand, and the Left into that part of the Wood which was nearest the Enemies Army, to force them to a greater distance. This work'd the effect that he desired, for the Marshal *Turenne*, fearing to be endamag'd by the Musqueteers, left that Post and went to take another a little farther off, and upon a higher Ground than Monsieur *le Prince*; but the removal which he made for that, perswaded Monsieur *le Prince* that he was retiring for *Gien*, and that he might easily cut them off in the disorder of the Retreat, before they arrived there: For which reason he Advanced his Horse, and made six Squadrons pass unrank'd in all haste to enter upon the Plain; but Marshal *Turenne* considering what a disadvantage it would be to give Battle upon the Plain to Monsieur *le Prince's* Army, heightned with Victory, and also stronger than his own, rather chose to return with their Swords in their hands, and fall upon the six Squadrons, to defeat those

those that were pass'd, and to stop the rest from passing. Monsieur le Prince, who judg'd what he intended, first pass'd his Horse, and then those who were unrank'd for that purpose, hindering the Enemy from approaching without great disadvantage, so they were content on both sides with only advancing the Artillery, and for a long time playing the Canon at each other, the success whereof prov'd not at all equal; for besides that, Monsieur de Turenne had a much greater number of Canon, and better serv'd than the Enemy; they had also the advantage of the highest Ground upon them. Moreover, Monsieur le Prince's men being inclosed within the passage that parts the two Woods, there was scarcely any Shot that did not execution, insomuch that there was kill'd sixscore Horsemen, besides several Officers, amongst which was *Maré*, Brother to the Marshal de Grancy. And in this manner they pass'd the rest of the day. About Sun-set, the Marshal de Turenne retreated towards *Gien*. The Marshal d'*Hoquecourt*, who since his Defeat had joyn'd with him, staid in the Rear-Guard, and going with some Officer to withdraw those Squadrons which were nighest the Enemy,

Enemy, he was retain'd by Monsieur *le* Prince, who sent to tell him, That he should be very glad to see him, and that he might advance upon his word. He did what Monsieur *le* Prince desired him, and advanced, accompanied only with some few Officers; and Monsieur *le* Prince had the Dukes *de la Rochefoucault* and *Beaufort*, with two or three more who waited upon him. All their Conversation pass'd in Civilities, and in Raillery on Monsieur *le* Prince's side, and in Justification on the Marshal *d'Hoquincourt's*, concerning what had hapened to him that day, complaining extreamly of Monsieur *de Turenne*, though one may say with Justice, he did that day two Actions great and bold, whereof the Success was the cause of his own Safety, as also the preservation of the Court; for assoon as ever he knew that the Marshal *d'Hoquincourt's* Brigade, which was to joyn with him the next day, was attack'd. He march'd with a very few men to that place where Monsieur *le* Prince found him drawn up in Batalia, every minute expecting the rest of his Souldiers, exposing himself thereby to have been inevitably defeated, if Monsieur *le* Prince had march'd straight to him,

him, instead of pursuing two or three Leagues, as he did those Troops that he had routed in the night; he preserv'd also that same day the rest of the Kings Army, with eminent Valour and Conduct, when he turn'd upon Monsieur *le Prince's* six Squadrons who had pass'd unrank'd upon the Plain, by which Action he stop'd an Army which would undoubtedly have cut his quite off, if it could but have drawn up in the same Plain. The Kings Army being retreated, Monsieur *le Prince*, with his, took the way that leads to *Chastillon*, and went that Night and lodg'd in Quarters upon the Canal *de Briare*, near *la Bruslery*, and the next day arriv'd at *Chastillon* with all his Army, whereof two days after he left the Command to *Clinebant* and the Count *de Tananes*, and went to *Paris* with the Dukes *de Beaufort* and *de la Rochefoucault*. This Journey prov'd of greater importance than at that time he thought it was, for I am perswaded, that the only desire to go to *Paris*, and there to receive the general applause which his success in so dangerous a Journey, and in obtaining so great a Victory had merited, made him incline to *Chavigny's* Reasons, who really endeavor'd to support himself by the

Presence

Prefence and Authority of Monsieur *le Prince*, & to possess the place, the Cardinal *de Retz* held with the Duke *de Orleans*: he hoped, as I said before, to make himself not onely equally considerable to these two Princes, in perswading of them both that he was the real cause of their Union, but believing, that that was the easiest way to succeed in the project which he had laid with *Faber*; therefore he press'd Monsieur *le Prince* to come to *Paris*, to oppose all the Attempts that Cardinal *de Retz* made upon Monsieur, as also to increase the good will of the Parliament, who had by an Act which they made, set a price upon Cardinal *Mazarin's* head: Whatsoever esteem Monsieur *le Prince* had of *Chavigny's* Advice, he still followed it, he was receiv'd in *Paris* with so many Acclamations and Testimonies of publick Joy, that he believ'd he had no reason to repent himself of his Journey. Things remain'd in this state for some time, but the Army wanting Forrage about *Chastillon* and *Mountargis*, and not daring either to come nigher, or go farther off from *Paris*, it march'd to *Estampes*, where they believed it might remain some considerable time with surety, and abundance

abundance of all things. The Duke de Nemours was not cur'd of his Wounds, when news was brought to the Prince of Condé, that some of the Kings Troops, commanded by the Count de Moissens, and the Marquis de St. Mesgren, Lieutenant Generals, were marching from St. Germain to St. Cloud, with two pieces of Canon, with design to beat off a hundred men of the Regiment de Condé, which had Fortified themselves upon the Bridge by breaking down one Arch of it; this news made Monsieur le Prince get on Horseback, and go thither with only those who were about him. The noise of which being spread through all Paris, all the People of Quality came after him to Boulogne, who were follow'd by eight or ten thousand Citizens in Arms. The Kings Forces contented with Firing some few Shots with their Canon, retired without ever attempting to make themselves Master of the Bridge. The Prince of Condé, who was resolv'd to make an advantage of this good disposition of the Citizens, having given them Officers, marched them to St. Denis, where he heard there was a Garrison of Two hundred Swisses: He arrived there just about the closing in of the Day: Those
 who

who were in the Town, having taken the Alarm, instantly yielded it up to the Besiegers.

Monfieur *le Prince* being in the middle of Three hundred Horfemen, confifting of thofe he believ'd the bravest and moft courageous of his Party, the *Swiffes* indeavored to defend some Baracado's in the Town, but being too violently prefs'd, they retreated into the Abby, where two hours after they yielded themselves Prisoners of War: There was no manner of rudeness offered, either to the Inhabitants or the Convents: Monfieur *le Prince* retir'd to *Paris*, leaving *Deslandes*, a Captain in the Regiment *de Condé*, with Two hundred men in *St. Dennis*, which was retaken the same night by the Kings Forces, but *Deslandes* retir'd into the Church where he held out three days: though there was nothing in this Action very confiderable in it self, by any Circumstance, yet it increased the Citizens affections to Monfieur *le Prince*; and they were so much the more liberal of their praises to him, as every one thought himself a witness of his Courage, and of the Danger which he believed he ran on that occasion. The Duke

Duke de Rohan, and *Chavigny* notwithstanding, still pursu'd their first Design; and took the advantage of so favourable a juncture, to make propositions of Peace: they believ'd that the Court would fulfill with all sincerity, those things which they knew *Faber* had only made overtures to them of to ingage them with the *Cardinal*, who indeavoured to make use of them, to draw the *Duke of Orleans* and *Monsieur le Prince* into that abyſſe of negotiations, whereof the bottom was never ſeen, and alwayes proved the means of his preſervation, as it was the ruin of his enemies; to ſay truth, from the very firſt day of *Monsieur le Princes* Arrival, Intrigues, and Cabals, were received on every ſide; and whether he was weary of maintaining ſo laborious a War, or that ſtaying at *Paris* had given him both an inclination and a hope of Peace, at length he quitted for a time all other thoughts, but only to ſeek all means to conclude it as advantageouſly as he had deſigned. The Duke de Rohan and *Chavigny*, gave him great hopes, to oblige him to lay upon them the care of this negotiation, and to permit them to go with *Goulas* alone to *St. Germain*, Loaded with his and the

Q

Duke

Duke *de Orlean's* interests: it was also proposed to send the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and Monsieur *le Prince* desired it for many reasons, but he excused him in that he believed the Peace to be already concluded between Monsieur and the Court, by the secret meditation of *Cavigni*, without Monsieur *le Prince's* having any share in it; or that it would not be then concluded, not only because Monsieur *le Prince's* pretensions were great, but also that the Duke *de Rohan* and *Chavigny* would secure their own, whereof I have already spoken, preferring it before the rest. So the Duke *de Rohan*, *Chavigny*, and *Goulas* went to *St. German* with express command not to see Cardinal *Mazarin*, nor treat of any thing with him: Monsieur's demands consisted Principally of the expulsion of the Cardinal, but those of Monsieur *le Prince* was of greater extent, because having engag'd both the City & Parliament of *Bordeaux*, & a great number of persons of Quality in his party, he made many particular treaties with them, in which he engaged himself not to make any with the Court, without comprehending their interests in the manner that I shall relate to you hereafter: there was no body doubted of these Gentlemen's success

success in their Journey ; besides there was no likelihood that a man so capable as *Chavigny* was, and so knowing both in the Court, and the Cardinal by so much experience, would ingage himself in so weighty a Negotiation, (having managed it three Months) without being assur'd of the Success. But this opinion lasted not long, for they found by the return of the Deputies, that they had not only treated with Cardinal *Mazarine*, against the expresse order, that had been given them; but also in stead of demanding for the Prince of Condy, what was in their Instructions; they insisted Principally upon establishing a necessary Council, in form almost like that which the late King ordered just before he dyed; only with this addition, that they should perswade Monsieur *le Prince* to give his consent, that Cardinal *Mazerin* should go instead of himself with *Chavigny*, to treat about the generall Peace, and that he might return again into *France*, after it was concluded. as these Propositions were far both from the Interest, and intentions of Monsieur *le Prince*; he received them mightily dissatisfied with *Chavigny*, and resolved from thence forward, never to let him know of any of his secret Treaties with the Court :

to which end he sent *Gourvill* with an instruction framed in the presence of the *Duchess of Chastillon*, and of the *Dukes de Nemours* and *Roche-foucault*: the contents whereof were as follows; First that all the Negotiations which had passed that day, should be null; and that a positive answer was required to every point, I, or no; it being impossible to be more moderate upon any one; therefore as nothing but sincere dealing was intended, he would promise nothing that he would not justly perform, but then he would be secure of every thing that should be promised him. It was demanded that Cardinal *Mazarin* might instantly go out of the Kingdom; and that he should retire to *Bouillon*, and that the power of concluding the general Peace should be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Orleans* and himself; and that they might immediately proceed in it, to which end he would yield to any condition that should be just and reasonable, and that he might send into *Spain* to agree the place of Conference; That the Council should consist of People not suspected, whom they shou'd consent to; that the high Treasurer should be discharged from his Office, and that the Treasury should be govern'd by faithful Officers;

That

That all those who had serv'd either the Duke of *Orleans*, or the Prince of *Condé*, should be restor'd to their Estates and Offices, Governments, Pensions and Assignments, which should be secur'd upon good Funds, as also the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Princes; That the Duke of *Orleans* should be satisfied in what he should desire on his part, either for himself, or his friends; That all the Soldiers and Officers which had follow'd the Princes, should be treated in the same manner as they were before, and should be in the same esteem which they had ever been; That those things might be granted to the Town of *Bordeaux*, which they had ask'd before the War, and for which they had sent Deputies to the Court; That they should yield that the Taxes might be moderated in the Country of *Guienne*, which should be sincerely consented to; That the Prince of *Conty* might be allow'd to treat with Monsieur *d'Angoulesme* about the Government of *Provence*, and that he might either give him his Government of *Champagne* in exchange, or sell it to whom he should think fit, to give him the Money for it; and for the surplus of the Money, that he should be assisted

as it should be judg'd most convenient
 That the Government of *Auvergne* should
 be given to the Duke de *Nemours*; That
 permission might be given to the Presi-
 dent *Viole* to treat about the Place of
 President *An, Mortier*, or of Secretary
 of State, and that they should give
 their Words that he should be the First;
 and that a Sum of Money should be or-
 der'd that minute to make the recom-
 pence more easie, that the Breviat which
 the Duke de *la Rochefoucault* demanded
 like that of the Messieurs de *Boulogns*,
 and de *Guimené* might be granted him;
 as also the Government of *Angoulmois*,
 and of *Xaintonge*, or else the sum of Six
 score thousand Crowns given him, be-
 sides Commission to treat for the afore-
 said Governments, or any other what-
 soever; That a Breviat should be given
 to the Prince de *Tarante*, concerning his
 Rank, the same as that of Monsieur de
Bouillon's; and that he shou'd be put
 into immediate possession of it; and
 that they should make him satisfac-
 tion for all the losses he had
 sustained by the taking and raising of
Tailles urg, according to the estimation
 that he should give in; and that Mon-
 sieur *Mirsin*, and Monsieur de *Dognoin*
 should

should be Mareschals of *France*, that a Patent for Duke should be given to Monsieur de *Montespan*; That the Duke de *Roban* should be restor'd to his Government of *Anjou*, and *Angers*, and have the Bridge of *Cé*, as also the Jurisdiction of *Saumeurs* deliver'd to him; That the Government of *Berguerac*, and *St. Foy*, should be given to Monsieur de *la Force*, and the Reversion to Monsieur de *Chasteau-neuf*; and also Monsieur le Marquis de *Persan* might be assur'd to be made Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost the first vacancy; and that a Breviat might be given him to that purpose, as also the sum of Fifty thousand Crowns to buy him a Government; to which was added a promise to lay down Arms, and unfeignedly consent to all the advantages that Cardinal *Mazarin* should propose for his Justification; and for his return in three Months; or till such time as Monsieur le Prince having agreed upon every particular of the general Peace with *Spain*, being upon the place of Conference with the Spanish Ministers, should send word that the Peace was ready to Sign, which he would defer Signing till Cardinal *Mazarin* was return'd.

The Cardinal gave ear to these Propositions of *Gourville*, and appear'd very willing to consent to them, either because he really intended to agree to what was propos'd, or because he was willing to have the obstacles seem to come from some other; but the Duke *de Bouillon*, who was in fear that the Peace should be made without his having the Dutchy *d' Albret*, which was to be given up to him by Monsieur le Prince, as part of his satisfaction for *Sedan*, told the Cardinal, that since he believed it just to oblige the Friends of Monsieur le Prince, who were his sworn Enemies, he could not but think it yet more reasonable to do justice to those (who had assisted him, and maintain'd his interest against Monsieur le Prince, and against whom he could find nothing to say) rather than to the Dukes *de Nemours*, and *la Rochefoucault*, *Marfin*, and others. Therefore for his part he thought that having so considerable an Interest, as the Dutchy *d' Albret*, nothing ought to be concluded without obliging Monsieur le Prince to satisfy him concerning that. With whatsoever intention the Duke *de Bouillon* offer'd these Reasons, they stopp'd the

the Cardinals proceedings, who sent *Gourville* to Monsieur le Prince to raise this difficulty; but though all great affairs are subject to delays, this Peace had more reason than any other, because it not only depended upon so many different interests, and regarded so many opposite Parties, which endeavor'd to break it; but above all, because it was managed by the Prince of *Condy* on one part, and Cardinal *Mazarin* on the other, who though they had sundry qualities directly opposite, yet still they agreed in many things, and particularly to treat of all sorts of Affairs, with unlimited Pretensions; so that as soon as ones demand was granted them, they still believ'd it in their power to obtain more, and so much perswaded themselves that all was due to their good Fortune; that the ballance could not hang long enough in a just poise betwixt 'em, to give them time to resolve of a Treaty, and to conclude it; besides, many other obstacles were join'd to these; it was the interest of the Cardinal *de Retz* to hinder the Peace; because it being made without his having a hand in it, and the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Condy* being united to the Court, he would
be

be left expos'd without protection; then again, *Chavigny* enraged at the ill success of his Negotiation, being exasperated both against the Court, and Monsieur *le Prince*, rather wish'd to see the Peace not effected, than to see it concluded by any other Expedients than his own; I cannot tell the conformity of Interests which was then between the Cardinal *de Retz*, and *Chavigny*, which made them act unitedly to oppose the Treaty of Monsieur *le Prince*, or if either of them moved the Duke of *Orleans* to act in it; but I have been since inform'd by one whom I ought to believe, that even at the time that *Gourville* was at *St. Germain's*, the Duke of *Orleans* sent to Cardinal *Mazarin* by the Duke d'Anville, to forbid him to conclude any thing with Monsieur *le Prince*, for that he alone would have the merit of making the Peace with the Court; and that he was ready to submit himself to the King, and by that to give an example, which should be follow'd both by the People and the Parliament of *Paris*; There was appearance that a Proposition like this should be preferr'd before all the rest, and to say truth, whether it was for this reason, or whether it was for that which I have already

already said, of the natures of Monsieur *le Prince*, and the Cardinal, or, as I always believ'd, that the Cardinal was ever against the Peace, and that he only made use of those Negotiations, as so many snares wherein to take his Enemies. In fine, things in a little time grew so confus'd, and were so far from coming to an issue, that the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* was against any of his Peoples having farther concern in a Negotiation which ruin'd his Party; therefore he charg'd *Gourville* to press the Cardinal to return a positive answer, the second time he went *St. Germain*, with order to return no more thither. Besides, though the Prince of *Condy* himself was never constantly fixt for a Peace, he was continually oppos'd by the different Interests of those, who endeavour'd to divert it; the Enemies of Cardinal *Mazarine* thought themselves not sufficiently reveng'd, if he stay'd in *France*, and Cardinal *de Rets*, judg'd that an Agreement with the Prince of *Condy* would take away from him all the esteem he was in, and expose him to his Enemies; but on the contrary a War could not last, but that it must either destroy Monsieur *le Prince*, or force
away

away Cardinal *Mazarin*, and then he alone possessing the Duke of *Orleans*, might by that means make himself considerable at Court, and from thence make his advantage. On the other side the Spaniards offer'd the Prince of *Condy* whatsoever they thought most capable to tempt him, exposing all to prolong the civil War: his nearest Relations, his Friends and menial Servants buoy'd up this Sentiment by their particular Interests. In fine, all was divided into Cabals, either to make the Peace, or continue the War, the most refin'd and most judicious Reasons in Politicks were by both Parties set in view of Monsieur *le Prince*, to incline him to their side. When Madam *de Chastillon* invited him to a desire of Peace by a more pleasing means, she believed that so great a good ought only to be the effect of her Beauty, and adding Ambition to the design of a new Conquest, endeavour'd at once to deprive the Court of the advantages of the Negotiation, and triumph over the Heart of Monsieur *le Prince*; neither were these the only reasons which produced these thoughts, the Interests of Vanity and Revenge, had no less a part in them, the emulation

tion which Beauty and Gallantry often brings forth amongst Ladies, had caus'd an extream hatred between the *Duchess de Longueville* and *Madam de Chastillon*; which though for a long time they had hid, at length it broke out openly on both sides, and *Madam de Chastillon* not only extended her Victory to oblige *Monsieur de Nemours* to break off all Commerce with the *Duchess de Longueville* with the most exasperating and publick circumstances, but endeavour'd also to take from her the knowledge of all affairs, that she alone might govern the Actions, and Interests of *Monsieur le Prince*: The *Duke de Nemours*, who was deeply engaged with her, approv'd of this Design, for he thought that he could govern *Madam de Chastillon's* behaviour towards *Monsieur le Prince*, and that she being able to inspire him with whatsoever sentiments she pleas'd, he should govern *Monsieur le Prince* by the power he had over her. The *Duke de la Rochefoucault* had at that time a greater share than any one in the secrets of *Monsieur le Prince*, and was also in a strict Bond with the *Duke de Nemours*, and *Madam de Chastillon*; he knew how irresolute the *Prince of Condé* was about the Peace,

and

and apprehending what really afterwards came to pass, that the Spanish, and the Ducheſs of *Longueville's* Cabals would join together to remove Monsieur *le Prince* from *Paris*, where he might daily treat without their participation, he also believ'd that Madam *de Chastillon's* design would remove all obstacles to the Peace, for which reason he perswaded Monsieur *le Prince* to join with her, and to make her a Present of *Merlou*; he also work'd her to manage Monsieur *le Prince*, & the Duke *de Nemours* in such a manner, that she might keep them both, and make the Duke *de Nemours* approve of that League, which he ought not to suspect, since nothing was to be acted that he was not to be inform'd of, and no other use to be made of it than to advance him to the principal management of Affairs; this design being fram'd and guided by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, he had almost the entire disposition of it; and thus all four finding equally such advantage in it, it had at length without doubt found its propos'd success, had not fortune oppos'd it by so many unavoidable accidents: Nevertheless Madam *de Chastillon* appear'd at Court with all the lustre, that her new

Trust

Trust could give her; she went thither with so general a Power to dispose of Monsieur *le Prince's* Affairs, that it was rather taken for an effect of his complaisance to her, and a desire to flatter her vanity, than for any real intention of accommodation; she return'd to *Paris* with mighty hopes, but the Cardinal drew solid advantages from this Negotiation, for he gained time by it, and increas'd the suspicion of the opposite Cabals, as also delay'd Monsieur *le Prince* at *Paris*, till such time as he should lose *Guienne* and his other Holds; and that the Kings Army commanded by the *Marschals de Turenne* and *d'Hoiquin-court*, kept the Field, whilst his was retir'd into *Estampes*; neither did it remain long there without receiving a considerable loss; for the *Marschal de Turenne's* being inform'd, that *Madamoiselle* passing by *Estampes* had desir'd to see the Army drawn out, march'd straight thither, and arriv'd at the Suburbs before the Enemy, who was lodg'd in it, return'd, and was in a condition to defend their Quarters, which was forc'd and plunder'd, the *Marschals de Turenne* and *d'Hoiquin-court* retir'd back to their Camps, after having kill'd 1000 or 1200 Men of the Princes
the

choicest Troops, besides many which they carried away Prisoners.

This success increas'd the hopes of the Court, and gave birth to the design of the Besieging *Estampes* and all the Army that was in it; and how difficult soever this Enterprize appear'd, it was resolv'd, on, for their hopes depended upon dishearten'd Soldiers, and divided Leaders the Towns being open in several places, and every where ill fortifi'd and impossible to receive relief from any but the Duke *de Lorraine*, with whom the Court believed they had made an Agreement; but for all this, in my opinion, they consider'd less the event of the Siege, than the Reputation so great an Enterprize wou'd give to the Kings Forces; and the truth of it was, that though they still continu'd their Negotiations with such eagerness, and that Monsieur *le Prince* so extremely desir'd a Peace, it could not be reasonably expected, till such time as the success of *Estampes* had regulated the Propositions; In the mean while the Adherents to the Court made use of this conjuncture to gain the People, and to make a Party in the Parliament; and although the Duke of *Orleans* appear'd very firmly united to Monsieur *le Prince*,

he had nevertheless daily Conferences in private with the Cardinal *de Retz*, who was bent to destroy whatever resolutions Monsieur *le Prince* perswaded him to take. The Siege of *Estampes* still continued, and although the Kings Army made no considerable progress, the noise that it made through the whole Kingdom was advantagious to the Court, inso-much that *Paris* expected the Succors of the Duke of *Lorraine*, as the only preservation of the Party; he arriv'd at length, after so many delays, and after having given suspicion of his Agreement with the King; but his presence soon put a stop to that opinion for a time, and he was receiv'd with all marks of joy; his Army was encamp'd near *Paris*, and all other disorders were suffer'd without complaints.

At first there was some coolness between Monsieur *le Prince* and him for place, but seeing that Monsieur *le Prince* was resolute, he declin'd his Pretensions, so much more easily, in that he had only rais'd this dispute to gain time to make a secret Treaty with the Court, to raise the Siege of *Estampes* without hazarding a Battel, which was concluded by the Duke of *Lorraine*, without ever acquainting either Monsieur, or Monsieur *le Prince*

Prince with it ; the first news they heard of it was that their Troops were march'd out of *Estampes*, and that the Kings Army was remov'd from thence, and the Duke de *Lorraine* retir'd into *Flanders*, pretending that he had fully perform'd the King of *Spain's* Orders, and also the Word that he had given to Monsieur : This news surpriz'd every body, and made Monsieur le *Prince* resolve to join his Forces ; fearing lest the Kings Army shou'd fall upon him in his march, he left *Paris* with 12 or 15 Horse, exposing himself to be taken by the Enemies Party, and having join'd his Army, he march'd to *Ville-juis*, where they quarter'd, and from thence pass'd to *St. Cloud*, where they remain'd, in which time not only the Harvest was destroy'd, but also most of the Houses thereabouts were reduc'd to Ashes.

With which proceedings the Parisians were so dissatisfied, that Monsieur le *Prince* had like to have receiv'd fatal marks thereof in the Battle of *St. Antoine*.

Nevertheless *Gaucourt* had secret Conferences with the Cardinal, in which he declar'd that a Peace was desired with all earnestness, and went so far as to agree upon the principal conditions, but he so
much

much insisted upon those lesser points, that he became suspected, not to intend to treat; this new uncertainty gave new strength to all the Cabals, and an appearance of truth to all the reports that were spread amongst the People. *Paris* was never in so great an agitation, Monsieur le Prince's thoughts were never so divided, which to resolve of, Peace, or War: The Spaniards endeavoured to remove him from *Paris*, to hinder the Peace, and the Duchess de Longueville's friends contributed all they could with the same design, to remove him also from Madam de Chastillon, and likewise Mademoiselle aim'd at the same mark with the Spaniards, and the Duchess de Longueville, for on one side she desir'd the War should continue, to be reveng'd upon the Queen, and the Cardinal, who had opposed her being married to the King; and on the other, in hopes to force Monsieur le Prince to leave Madam de Chastillon, that she might have as great a share both in his esteem, and trust, as also to win him, who was most in her affection. She rais'd Men in his Name, and promis'd to furnish him with Money to levy more.

These Promises joyn'd to those of the Spaniards, and the Artifices of the Dukes of *Longneville's* Friends, remov'd from Monsieur *le Prince* the thoughts which he had of a Peace; but that, which in my opinion put him the farthest from it, was not only the little confidence he could repose in the Court afterwards, but (what can hardly gain belief of one of his Quality, and Merit) a vast desire of imitating the Duke of *Lorrain* in many things, and particularly in his method of treating his Soldiers, and Officers; he was perswaded that if the Duke *de Lorrain* being robb'd of his Country, and with so much less advantage than he had, could make himself so considerable by his Army and Money, he who had such infinite Qualities above him, would make a progress proportionable, and in the mean time might live entirely conformable to his own humour.

This is the real motive which induc'd Monsieur *le Prince* to join with the Spaniards, and for which he renounc'd all that his Birth and Services had acquired him in the Kingdom, though he laboured to hide it as much as was possible, by shewing still the same desire for the Peace, which was still pursu'd with fruitless

fruitless Treaties: The Court went to *St. Denis*, the *Mareschal de la Ferté* join'd the Kings Army with those Troops which he had march'd out of *Lorraine*, Monsieur *le Prince's* Army, weaker than the least of the two Bodies which oppos'd him, till then had maintain'd the Post of *St. Cloud*, that he might make use of the Bridge to shun an unequal fight; but the arrival of the *Mareschal de la Ferté* enabled the Kings Army to divide, and attack *St. Cloud* on both sides, having made a Bridge of Boats about *St. Denis*, which made Monsieur *le Prince* resolve to leave *St. Cloud* with design to gain *Charenton*; and to post himself in that neck of Land, where the River of *Marne* joins with the *Seine*; he march'd his Army the first day of *July* about the close of the evening, hoping to reach *Charenton* before the Enemy could overtake him; he march'd by the Queen-Mothers Court, and by the back-side of the Town from the Port *St. Honoré* to the Port *St. Antoine*, to come in there into the Road to *Charenton*.

He would not ask to pass through *Paris*, for fear it should be refus'd him, and a refusal at such a time as that, wou'd have made the ill condition his

Affairs were then in, too visible, besides he fear'd that if he should obtain it, his Army might scatter in the Town, and would not be got out again if there were occasion; The Court was immediately inform'd of his march, and Marechal *Turenne* went the very minute with all his Forces to attack him, and to stop him, till such time as the Marechal *de la Ferté*, who was following, had time to arrive. In the mean while they carried the King to *Charonne*, that there, as upon a Theatre, he might be present at an Action, which in all appearance, would be the inevitable ruine of Monsieur *le Prince*, and the conclusion of all the disorder, and which really prov'd one of the boldest, and most dangerous that was ever seen in War; where the great and extraordinary qualities of Monsieur *le Prince* appear'd with all advantage, and Fortune her self seem'd to court him in this action, and claim'd a share in the success, wherein both Parties extolled his Valour, and his Conduct, for he was attacked precisely at the time when he cou'd make use of those Trenches which the Citizens of the *Fauxbourg de St. Antoine* had thrown up to fortifie themselves from being plundered by the Duke

Duke *de Lorraine* ; he had only this place in all his march (which he endeavour'd to reach) where he could hinder himself from being entirely defeated; some Squadrons of the Reer-guard were charg'd in the *Fauxbourg de St. Martin*, by those whom the *Mareschal de Turenne* had detach'd to amuse him, which retreated disorderly within the Entrenchment of the *Fauxbourg de St. Antoine*, where he was drawn up in Battle.

He had scarcely time enough for this, and to set men to maintain all the places by which he might be attacked, he was forced to place the Baggage upon the Ditch *de St. Antoine*, because it was refus'd entrance into *Paris*, which also had pillaged some of his Wagons, for the Court-Party had so managed it, that they stood as Neuter, and Spectators of the event.

The Prince of *Condè* kept still about him all his own Servants, and all the Gentlemen of Quality that had no Command, who were about thirty or forty in number. The *Mareschal de Turenne* prepared to attack him with all the haste, and confidence of a Man that believ'd himself secure of Victory; when the Men whom he had detach'd were about

yards from the Entrenchment, Monsieur *le Prince* sallied out with the aforenam'd Squadron, and with his Sword in his hand, entirely defeated the Battallion that came to attack him, and took some of the Officers Prisoners, carried off their Colors, and retired again into his Retrenchment.

On the other side the Marquis *de St. Mesgrin* attack'd the Post that was defended by the Count *de Tavannes* Lieutenant-General, and *Langes* Marechal de Camp, where the resistance was so great, that the Marquis *de St. Mesgrin*, seeing his Infantry decline, transported with heat and passion, advanced with the Kings Light-Horse, into a narrow Street, which was barricado'd, where he was kill'd with the Marquis *de Nantouillet*, *le Fouilloux*, and others; *Manching* was there wounded, whereof he dy'd some time after.

They continu'd the Attacks on both sides with extream vigor, and the Prince of *Condy* charg'd the Enemy a second time with the same success that he did the first; in what place soever he went, though he found himself in the middle of Fire and Arms, he gave Orders with an evenness of Mind; which is so rare,
and

and yet so necessary in a time like that :
 At length the Kings Army forc'd the last
 Barricado of the *rue due Cours*, which
 leads to the *Bois de Vincennes*, and was
 entred into Battalia as far as the Market
 House of the *Faux-bourg St. Antoine*,
 when the Prince *de Condé* made a violent
 Sally, charg'd them, and cutting in pie-
 ces all that withstood him, regained
 that Post, and beat off the Enemy, who
 was nevertheless Master of a second Bar-
 ricado, which was in the Street that leads
 to *Charenton*, about forty yards beyond
 a large open place, which is just by the
 same Street : The Marquis *de Noüailles*
 having possess'd himself of it, the bet-
 ter to defend it, made holes through the
 houses round about, and set Musque-
 teers in them, as also in all those Houses
 of the Street through which they must
 pass to come at the Barricado. The
 Prince of *Condy* had a design to dislodge
 them with his Infantry, and to beat them
 off with a greater violence, which was
 really the way he ought to have taken ;
 but the Duke *de Beaufort* not being one
 of the nearest to Monsieur le Prince, and
 growing dissatisfied that the Duke *de*
Nemours was always so, press'd Monsieur
 le Prince to attack that Barricado with
 his

his Foot already weary, & repuls'd, which instead of marching toward the Enemy, lean'd themselves against the Houses, and wou'd advance no farther.

At the same time a Squadron of the *Flemish* Troops, which was posted in a Street, one end whereof came to the corner of the aforementioned open place, on the Enemies side, not being able to stay there any longer for fear of being cut off when the Enemy should be possess'd of the adjoining Houses, came into the middle of it. The Duke *de Beaufort* believing it to be the Enemy, propos'd to the Dukes *de la Rochefoucault* and *Nemours*, who were just come thither, to go and charge them; so they gathering together, the Voluntiers made towards them, and expos'd themselves to no purpose amidst all the firing both from the Barricado, and from the Houses round about, for coming nearer, he knew 'em to be of his own Party; but at the same time perceiving an astonishment amongst those that defended the Barricado, the Dukes *de Nemours*, *Beaufort*, and *de la Rochefoucault*, and the Prince *de Marillac* push'd at it, and beating the Enemies from it, they seiz'd it, and kept it their own selves, when the Infantry which
was

was commanded wou'd not assist them. The Prince *de Condé* maintained his ground in the Street, with only some of his friends who follow'd him. In the mean time the Enemy, who were possess'd of all the Houses in the Street, seeing the Barricado kept only by four, had undoubtedly retaken it, had not the Prince of *Condé's* Squadron oppos'd them; but their being no foot to hinder the Enemies shooting from the Windows, they began to fire upon them from every side till they had made them quit the Barricado. The Duke *de Nemours* for all his Arms, received thirteen wounds, the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* receiv'd also a Musket-shot upon his Face a little above the Eyes; which blinding him, oblig'd the Duke *de Beaufort*, and the Prince *de Marillac* to retreat to carry off the two wounded; they were pursued, and the Prince *de Condé* advancing to succor them, and give them time to get on Horseback, left the Post again to the Kings Forces, which just before he had gained from them: Almost all that follow'd them into the open place were either kill'd or wounded. Amongst the rest there fell the Marquis *de Flamin*, the Count *de Castres*, and *Bercennes*,
 Captain

Captain of the Duke *de Rochefoucault's* Guards, the number of the Officers dead and wounded on each side were so great, that each party appear'd rather to think of repairing its losses, than of attacking the Enemy: but this pause prov'd nevertheless more advantageous to the Kings Forces, for though they had been repuls'd as often as they assaulted, nevertheless the *Mareschal de la Ferté*, marched with all speed, and prepar'd to make a new attack with his Army, which was fresh and entire, when the *Parisians*, who till then had been only spectators of so great an Action, declared themselves for Monsieur *le Prince*; they had been so blinded on one side by the Policy of the Court, and on the other by that of the Cardinal *de Rets*, as also being so much perswaded that Monsieur *le Prince* had concluded the particular Peace without including their Interests, that they consider'd the beginning of this Action to be done with Cardinal *Mazarin's* consent, & the Duke *d'Orleans* confirmed them in that opinion by giving no Orders in the Town to succor Monsieur *le Prince*; the Cardinal *de Rets* was always about him, who still encreased the trouble, and irresolution of his mind, by framing difficulties

culties in every thing he undertook:

On the other side the Port *de St. Antoine* was guarded by a Regiment of the Citizens, the Officers whereof being gain'd by the Court, hinder'd every body almost from either going out, or coming in. In fine, there were but few in the Town that inclin'd to receive Monsieur *le Prince* into it; when *Mademoiselle*, by using all her Power with her Father, at length drew him from that Lethargy, in which Cardinal *de Rets* still held him, and prevailed upon him so far as that she carried his Orders to the Town-house for the Citizens to take up Arms, and at the same time commanded the Governor of the *Bastille* to fire the Cannon upon the Kings Army; then going her self also to the Port *de St. Antoine*, she dispos'd the Citizens not only to receive Monsieur *le Prince* and his Army, but even to sally out, and skirmish till such time as his Army was enter'd in; but what yet mov'd the People more in favour of Monsieur *le Prince*, was to see so many Persons of Quality brought in, either wounded, or dead; the Duke *de la Rochefoucault* endeavour'd to make the best of this opportunity to serve his Party; for though his Wound had almost

most blinded him, he rode from the Place where he had been hurt to the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*; exhorting the People to succor Monsieur *le Prince*, and from that time to be more sensible of their designs, who had accus'd him of treating with the Court, which then work'd the effect that was desired; for *Paris* was never more inclin'd to serve Monsieur *le Prince* than it was at that time.

In the mean while the noise of the Cannon from the *Bastille* made Cardinal *Mazarin* conceive two very different opinions; for at first he thought that *Paris* had declar'd it self against Monsieur *le Prince*, and that he was going at once to triumph over the City, and his Enemy; but when they saw that they fir'd upon the Kings Forces, he sent Orders to the Marechal of *France* to retreat, and return to *St. Denis*.

This was one of the most glorious days of Monsieur *le Princes* life, his Valour and Conduct never had a greater share in his Victory; and one may say, that so many Persons of Quality never led on a smaller number of Men. All the Colours they took were hung up in *Nostredame* Church, and all the Officers, that were
taken

taken Prisoners, were dismiss'd upon their Parols; The Negotiations for Peace still continu'd, and each Cabal was labouring either to make, or hinder it according to its Interest; as for Monsieur *le Prince*, and the Cardinal, they were neither of 'em resolv'd whither they should conclude it or no. Monsieur *de Chavigny* in all appearance was now well again with Monsieur *le Prince*; it was hard to say what opinion he was of till then, because his natural fickleness made him every day directly opposite to the other; for when he was in hopes to destroy the Cardinal, and re-enter into the Ministry of Affairs, his Counsel was to push things to the last extremity, but would have them beg a Peace upon their knees, as often as he imagined that his Lands would become the Prey of the Soldiers, and his Houses raz'd; but still in this juncture he was of the same opinion with the rest, which was to make the best of the good disposition of the People, and to propose to them a meeting at the Town-house, to resolve that Monsieur *le Prince* should be made Lieutenant-General of the Crown of *France*, and to associate themselves inseparably to remove the
Cardi-

Cardinal; and that the Duke *de Beaufort* should be made Governor of *Paris* instead of Monsieur *de l'Hospital*, and *Broussel-Provost des Marchant* in the place of Monsieur *de Febure*; but this Assembly, wherein it was believ'd would consist the security of the Faction, prov'd one of the principal causes of its ruine, by a violence, that in all probability might have destroyed every Man that was in the *Hofiel de Ville*, and have made Monsieur *le Prince* loose all the advantages that he had gained in the Battel of *St. Antoine*.

I cannot say who was the Author of so pernicious a design, for all disown'd it alike; but when they were met in the Town-house, there gathered together a company of all sorts of People in Arms, which came crying to the very doors, That not only all things should pass according to the intencion of Monsieur *le Prince*, but likewise that all those who depended upon the Cardinal *Mazarin*, should that very minute be delivered up. This noise at first was only lookt upon as an ordinary effect of the impatient Rabble; but seeing the Crowd and Tumult increase, and that even the Soldiers and Officers bore their part in the Sedi-

Sedition, and at the same time began to set the Doors on fire, and shoot in at the Windows ; all that were within, believed themselves alike utterly lost.

Many to evade the danger of the Fire and Shooting, exposed themselves to the fury of the People ; there were many kill'd of all sorts, and of both Parties, and every one believed that *Monsieur le Prince* sacrificed his Friends, that he might not be suspected, to have destroy'd his Enemies ; not the least part of this business was laid to the Duke *d'Orleans* charge, and all the hatred for it fell upon *Monsieur le Prince*, though I believe they both made use of the Duke *de Beaufort* to injure those that were not of their Parties, but in reality, not one of them had the least design to hurt any body ; Howsoever it was, they presently appeas'd the Disorder, but could not blot out the impression that it had made in the Peoples Minds.

It was propos'd afterwards to establish a Council which should consist of the Duke *d'Orleans*, the Prince of *Condy*, the Chancellor of *France*, and of all the Princes, Dukes and Peers, Marshal of *France*, and the general Officers of the Party, where two Presidents are

S

Monsieur

Monsieur should have always place from the Parliament, and the Provosts of the Merchants from the City, to judge definitively in all Cases Military, and Civil.

This Council increas'd instead of diminishing the Disorder by the pretensions of taking place in it, and the Consequences of it were at length as fatal, as those of the Assembly in the Town-House; for the Dukes *de Nemours* and *Beaufort*, either had not so clearly forgot their pass'd Differences, but that they still bore a grudging to each other, or else by the Interests of some Ladies, quarrell'd for Precedence in the Council, and fought on Horseback, where the Duke *de Nemours* was kill'd by the Duke *de Beaufort* his Brother in Law; his Death moved both compassion and sorrow, in all who knew him, and even the Publick had reason to lament him: for besides his great and eminent Qualities, he contributed all that was in his power to the concluding of a Peace, for he and the Duke *de la Roche Foucault*, had renounced all the advantages that *Monsieur le Prince* had engaged to obtain for 'em in the Treaty, that it might be so much the more easily concluded, but the Death of one, and the Wound

Wound of the other gave the *Spaniards* and the Dutchess of *Longueville's* Friends all the opportunity they could desire ; They no longer apprehended, that the Propositions for inviting Monsieur *le Prince* into *Flanders* would be disputed, they dazled him with hopes, and now Madam *de Chastillon* appear'd less charming, because there was no longer that illustrious Rival to combat in her Affection, nevertheless he did not at first reject the propositions of Peace, though he still took his measures for War ; he offer'd to the Duke *de la Roche Foucault* the Duke *de Nemours's* Command, which he could not accept, because of his hurt, so he gave it afterwards to the Prince *de Tarante*.

Paris was then more divided than ever, the Court daily gaining one or other of the Parliament, or People ; the Slaughter, which hapned at the Town-House, appeared horrible to all Men : the Army durst not keep the Field, and its quartering in *Paris* increas'd their disaffection to Monsieur *le Prince* : in fine, his Affairs were reduced to the worst estate they could be in, when the *Spaniards* equally desiring to hinder either his Ruine or Advancement ; that

they might prolong the War, ordered the Duke de Lorraine to march a second time to *Paris*, with a body of Men considerable enough not only to put a stop to the Kings Forces, but to invest them in *Villeneuve St. George*; they also sent word to *Paris*, that the Enemy should be constrain'd either to give Battle, or to die for hunger in their Camp.

This hope flatter'd Monsieur le Prince, who thought to draw great advantages from the event of that action, though the truth of it was, the Marechal Turenne wanted no Provisions, and had always liberty to retreat to *Melun*, without hazarding a Battle, which he did, without finding any resistance; whilst the Duke de Lorraine was at *Paris*, and Monsieur le Prince lay sick of a violent Fever, at the same time *Palluan* joyn'd the Forces under his command with the Kings Army, after having taken *Montrond*, in which the Marquis de *Perfan* had been block'd up from the beginning of the War by a small number of Men, commanded by the Count de *Palluan*; but the Garison growing weak, they assaulted it, and took it with less resistance, than could be expected from so gallant Men,

Men, in one of the strongest places in the World, the loss whereof ought so much the more to touch Monsieur le Prince, in that it happen'd by his negligence, since that in the time when the Kings Army lay toward *Campaigne*, he might easily have reliev'd *Montrond*, whereas his Army ruining all about *Paris*, so much increas'd their hatred to him.

Though Monsieur le Prince's Distemper was violent, yet it was less fatal to him, than to Monsieur *Chavigny*, who one day having been very eager with Monsieur le Prince about clearing some things, went back sick of a Fever, whereof he dy'd a few days after; his misfortunes ended not with his life, and death, which ought to put a period to hatred, rather seem'd to awaken it in his Enemies; they imputed to him all manner of Crimes, but particularly Monsieur le Prince complain'd, that he had given ear to the propositions of the Abbey *Fouquet*, without acquainting him with it (though he had writ to him to do it) and that he had promis'd to remit some part of the Articles, which he could not consent to; Monsieur le Prince also publish'd Copies of a Letter which

he intercepted from the Abbey *Fouquet*, of which I have seen the original, where he sends word to the Court, that *Goulas* would certainly perswade the Duke *d'Orleans* to break with Monsieur *le Prince*, if he did not accept those conditions of *Peace*, which were then offer'd him, and some Copies that Monsieur *le Prince* gave with his own hand, he writ *Chavigny's* name in the place of *Goulas*, and so accus'd him of betraying him, without giving any other Proofs than the false Copies of that Letter written by the same Abbey *Fouquet*, with whom Monsieur *le Prince* treated every day, and gave *Chavigny* an account of it.

I can attribute so extraordinary, and so unjust a proceeding to no other cause, than the extreme desire that Monsieur *le Prince* had to continue the War, which being oppos'd by his Friends, made him alter his behaviour towards them, and wholly confide in the *Spaniards*; he began from that time to take his measures, in such a manner, that he might depart with the Duke of *Lorraine*, and to say truth, his Conduct had made this Council so necessary, that he had now no other choice to make, for Peace was too generally

generally desir'd at *Paris* for any one to live there securely who design'd to oppose it.

The Duke *d'Orleans* for his part, who had always desir'd the Peace, and who still apprehended the mischief that Monsieur *le Prince*'s presence might draw upon him, contributed the more willingly to remove him, in that he knew he should then have a greater liberty to make his particular Treaty.

Though all things were thus in confusion, they did not interrupt the ordinary course of the Negotiations, for at the time that Cardinal *Mazarine* left *France*, in hopes to root out all pretences of a Civil War, or to shew that Monsieur *le Prince* pursu'd other aims than his removal, he sent *Anglade* Secretary to the Duke *de Bouillon* to the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and whether it was that he had really a design to treat, in hopes to make his return more easie, or that he design'd to draw some advantage by shewing the World that he desir'd a Peace; at length *Anglade* brought much more ample conditions, than any before, and almost the same that Monsieur *le Prince* had demanded, but they were also refus'd, and his destiny, which

drew him into *Flanders*, never let him see the Precipice till it was no longer in his power to retire ; at length he departed with the Duke *de Lorrain*, after having in vain contrived with the Duke *d'Orleans* to oppose the Queens being received into *Paris* ; but his reputation was not then in a condition to lye in ballance with the Court, he received orders to leave *Paris* the day that the King was to make his entry into it, which he instantly obeyed, that he might not be a witness of his enemies triumphs, and of the publick joy.

Cardi-

*Cardinal Mazarin's Letter to
Monsieur de Brienne.*

S I R,

THE Queen, as far as I understand, believes that you should have only sent me a Letter from the King, as it is usually done to all National Cardinals, when news is brought from *Rome* that the Pope is in danger, and that I had a particular Priviledge granted me; since, besides the first from the King, and the Duplicate, I have received another, and three from you, all conceived in terms so pressing to make me without any delay depart from *Rome*, that I confess I was surprized to the last degree, being not able to imagine wherein I have been so deficient in my Duty to their Majesties, that they should press me to take a Journey with so much Ignominy and Danger, and without any means of subsisting. To think that a Letter of Recommendation to the Pope would satisfie all! as if they knew the World so little at *Rome*, that they could not infer what sort of Protection I was to

ex-

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ex-

expect there, since I was abandoned to
 the Persecution of my Enemies in *France*,
 where the King is Master. Nevertheless
 if I had had the honor to receive a word
 from the Queen to signifie, that it was
 the Kings and her pleasure that I should
 go thither (as she had the goodness to
 let me know it when she was pleased
 that I should go out of the Kingdom,
 and remove as far as the *Rhine*.) I do as-
 sure you, that after having put my
 Nieces into a Monastery, and turn'd off
 my Family, I would have gone thi-
 ther with two Servants only, to confirm
 their Majesties upon all occasions, that
 my obedience is blind, and my Fidelity
 of Proof. I am really ready to do,
 without any reply, whatever the Queen
 shall command me, though I cannot re-
 ceive a greater mortification, than to
 take this Journey in the condition I am
 in, which besides cannot but be prejudi-
 cial to the Kings honour. Nay, which is
 another unhappiness in this affair, they
 have had the Address to make it pass
 with the Queen for an act of Grace,
 which was done me, that I might yet
 feel some effect of the publick joy for
 the Kings Majority. All this hath load-
 ed me with sorrow, when I see to what
 height

height my friends have prevailed by my disgrace, and with what success they have employed their Arts to make me receive such rude usage, at a time when I might justly hope, that they would give some comfort to the Persecutions, which I have suffered for eight Months together with so much Violence, and with so notorious an Affront to the Royal Dignity.

But all this is not comparable to the excess of sorrow which I groaned under, after having seen (in all the Letters, from a great many of my Friends, both at *Paris* and elsewhere) the great pleasure they take at the Contents of the Kings Declaration, which was Registred in Parliament, and cry'd about the City. All of them without having consulted together, agreeing, that since the Monarchy, there was never so bloody a thing contriv'd against any body, what Crime soever he had committed. Nobody durst send it me, and I may swear to you, that I never saw it; But to know that the King hath declared that I hinder'd the Peace, and was the cause of all the Injuries done to the Allies of *France*, is enough to perswade me, that my Master would have me look'd upon

on as the most infamous and villanous Man that ever was, and as the scourge of Christianity: and after this they send me to the place of my Nativity, to make a parade (amongst my Kindred and Friends) of the fine Titles, which I have brought back with me, as a Reward for the 23 years as faithful and advantageous Service, as ever was done by the most zealous and disinterested Minister that ever was.

All my Enemies have for these fix Months laboured with an Industry visible to every body, sending Commissaries all over, applying themselves to all imaginable contrivances, and some of them raising false Witnesses to see if they could blacken me with some Crimes, who justifying to the people the oppression they laid upon me, did more and more establish their hatred against me, though all this produced nothing but very advantageous effects to undeceive them, and let them see my Innocence and the Injustice wherewith it was attacked. At this time my aforesaid Enemies despairing to do any thing by other ways, found the means to perswade their Majesties to declare me (without being heard) in a most authentick and publick

lick form, a Rogue, and to impute the hindrance of the Peace to me alone.

After this methinks they should rather counsel me to hide my self from the sight of Men, and bury my self for ever, than to go to *Rome*, since I have reason not only to apprehend the people of *France*, but all those who suffer by the continuation of the War, have reason to stone him, that is the cause thereof.

I am confident that their Majesties could not have a particular knowledge of every thing, that was contained in the Kings Declaration, they are too just to be thought by any means, that they would consent to declare me the most wicked and abominable of Men and a Traitor. And it is a great misfortune to the Kings service, that there should not be one who would let him know, of what advantage it was to the Enemies of *France*, that all *Europe* by his Majesties Declaration was perswaded that his chief Minister hindred the Peace. The Spaniards can have no greater advantage, than to be able to throw upon *France* the hatred of Christianity, for the Evils, which the War makes it suffer, and the Allies of *France* will by the
Kings

Kings Declaration have a right with Justice to demand reparation for the losses they have endured, which amount to Millions, or in case of a refusal, to have a just foundation for a quarrel, since it is certain that the King and State are responsible for the conduct of those who have the management of Affairs.

I know also that the consideration of me was not strong enough to oblige them to speak in my favour, but really the Interest of the King, of the State, and of the Queen her self, was engaged by so many other pressing reasons, than what are abovementioned, that it must be confessed, that it was a strange unhappiness that no body should speak to them one word of it, and mine is in the utmost degree, since, besides what I suffer in my own particular, the passion I have for their Majesties and the State, which can never have an end, makes me feel in the bottom of my Soul the strokes which they receive thereby.

You see, that since the Crimes, which they have obliged the King to declare me guilty of, I am no more in a condition to intermeddle in any Affair, wherefore you need not give your self the trouble of communicating any to me,
and

and if my Enemies have not the satisfaction to see me go to *Rome*, they shall have the joy to see me abscond without intermeddling with any thing whatever, until it shall please the King to do me Justice; humbly beseeching him, that he would be pleased to make me Prisoner wherever he shall order, even in one of the places of *Monfieur d'Orleans*, that if I have fail'd in my Duty, I may receive an exemplary punishment; and to take away all difficulties that may occur, by reason of the Dignity wherewith I am invested; I will take it as a singular favour, if I may be permitted to send a resignation thereof, for I cannot now be any way useful to his Majesty in my Person. I shall be very much obliged to you, if you so use your Interest as to procure me this favour, which I will esteem to the last degree, since it may contribute to the reparation of my Honour, and I also desire you for this once to excuse my Importunities.

The

*Monsieur de la Castre's Letter to
Monsieur Brienne.*

S I R,

SO long as my unhappiness only reach'd my Fortune, and I believ'd I had no reason to fear any thing but the loss of my Place, I bore my disgrace without a repining thought, and easily resolv'd with my self, to wait till a more favourable time gave me occasion of hoping better things. But now that I understand that they would violate my Innocence, and endeavor to ruine that little esteem I have desir'd to acquire in the Queens Opinion, I must confess I have not constancy enough to bear so rude a shock without complaints. You, Sir, who know me very well, know that I was never act'd by Idterest, that Honor was my aim in all my Actions, and that I observ'd its strictest rules that I might be esteem'd by that person alone to whom I had devoted all my services. Do you judge by this how sensible I ought to be of the Injury they have done me, in representing me to her under black Characters, and give me leave
most

most humbly to beseech you, to let her Majesty know, that upon all occasions I will receive her pleasure with the respect I ought; but on this I beg nothing but Justice; If I am guilty either of any important or trivial thing against her, I am the most guilty Man in the Kingdom, and I passionately desire that the Parliament would examine my faults, and punish them, being ready upon this account to enter into Custody, whenever it shall please her to prosecute me; I am so sensible of my Innocence, that I cannot doubt the issue, nay in the despair I am at present in, though the event should be fatal to me, I should not apprehend it, judging that I have nothing in the World to lose since the Queen hath lost the confidence she once reposed in my Fidelity: I expect from the honor of your Friendship, that you will do me the favour to testify to her my sad thoughts, 'tis the most sensible and obliging office that He can hope from you, who is,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

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The

The Articles and Conditions which were agreed upon between his Royal Highness Monsieur, and Monsieur le Prince de Condé, for the expulsion of Cardinal Mazarine, in pursuance of so many of the Kings Declarations and Acts of the several Parliaments of France.

I.

THat his Royal Highness, and Monsieur le Prince are ready to lay down their Arms, to return to Court, to re-enter into his Majesties Councils, and to contribute as much as lies in them, to conclude a general Peace; to settle all disturbances, and re-establish the Kings Authority, if his Majesty will be pleased sincerely to command Cardinal *Mazarin* to leave the Kingdom, and banish him out of all Places under his Dominion, and to remove him from his Councils and Person, all his Relations and Adherents, and finally that he would put in execution the Declarations that he had set forth,

forth, to that purpose in such a manner that neither his Royal Highness nor Monsieur *le Prince* may have reason to believe that the publick Faith will be violated.

II.

That if on the contrary, Cardinal *Mazarine* by his Artifices prevails still upon the King, and against the desires, and opinion of all *France*, and so much to the prejudice of those Declarations, People still persevere to support him, the Quality of Uncle to his said Majesty, which his Royal Highness possesses, obliges him to be vigilant in whatsoever relates to the good of the King, and to oppose whatsoever can interrupt it, during his said Majesties minority ; and Monsieur *le Prince* thinks himself indispensibly obliged to the same sentiments, because he has also the honor to be of the Royal Blood ; and considering that they can have no security for their Persons, whilst Cardinal *Mazarine* is Master of Affairs, they have promis'd, and are reciprocally obliged, and engage, not only for themselves, but also for the Prince *de Conty*, the Prince *de Conde's* Brother, and the Duchess *de Longueville* his Sister,

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whom

whom Monsieur *le Prince* promises, and engages, shall ratifie the present Treaty, the same time that he himself does, as also, for all those that are of his Party; that they shall joyn their Forces and employ all their Credit and Friends to banish Cardinal *Mazarine* out of *France*, and to send away all his Relations and Adherents, who have declared themselves such, by the continual Correspondence which they kept with him, when he was from the Court and Ministry of Affairs.

III.

They promise not to lay down Arms till such time as they have obtain'd the effect of the aforementioned Article, and not to give ear directly or indirectly to any Agreement but on that Condition, and with an unanimous consent.

IV.

That they will maintain and increase the Forces which they have raised as long as possibly they can, and that they shall be employ'd, either jointly, or separately, as they shall judge most fit, promising moreover to take all care for their subsistence with the least grievance that may be to the People,

V. They

V.

They promise willingly to accept all reasonable Expedients, which shall be proposed to appease the troubles of the Kingdom, still provided Cardinal *Mazarin* be removed, as is specified in the second Article, and to endeavor continually to establish a general Peace, which is one of the chief ends of this Treaty: which can find no obstacle when he is gone who has endeavoured to prolong the War, and that the Breaches in the Royal Family (which he has been the cause of) shall be made up again.

VI.

His Royal Highness, and Monsieur *le Prince*, promise to maintain the Parliaments, and all supream Societies of the King, the chief Officers of State, the Nobility, and Gentry, in all their Rights and Priviledges, and to do them Justice, in all their lawful pretentions, and not to make any Treaty without them, till such time that all the damages and losses they have sustained in maintaining this Treaty be repaired; and particularly to take care that it may not prejudice the observing of the Declaration, published the

22 of *October* 1648. and for this reason they are invited to enter into this present Union, and to do their utmost endeavour to accomplish the intent thereof.

VII

Cardinal *Mazarine*, who still governed in effect, though banished in appearance, having hinder'd the general Assembly of the States, which the King had promised to convoke the 8th of *September* last, and having obliged the Deputies, who met at *Tours* upon the day appointed, to retire with shame and confusion, and besides all this, his Royal Highness and Monsieur *le Prince* knowing that he would still continue the same condition he then held; and that he would endeavor to hinder by all means; whatever could be expected from their meeting, or that if he could be possibly brought to consent to their assembling, it should be only to get them into some place whereof he is Master; therefore his Royal Highness, and Monsieur *le Prince*, to remove these two inconveniences, promise and engage themselves, to spare no pains, to obtain that they may assemble at *Paris*, as the nearest and most convenient Town where they may

may act in full liberty, upon which condition they declare they will submit with all their hearts, their whole Interests, which they protest to be no other than the Interests of King and Country; to their decision, whereof there shall be made a perpetual and irrevocable Edict, which shall be confirmed in the Parliament of *Paris*, and by all those that enter into this present Union.

VIII.

His Royal Highness and Monsieur le Prince neither holding for lawful, nor acknowledging the Council, chosen by Cardinal *Mazarine*, one whereof having bought his place with a vast Sum of Money, which he gave to the aforesaid Cardinal, they being obliged by the degree of Blood, whereby they have the honor to come so near his Majesty, to take care of his Affairs, and to proceed in such a manner, as that they may be well governed, promise not to listen to any accommodation till such time as the Creatures and publick Adherents to Cardinal *Mazarine*, be excluded the Council of State, and upon condition that it shall not hereafter consist but only of such of the said Council, and others, as

cannot in any manner be suspected to incline to him.

I X.

And because the Enemies of Monsieur *le Prince*, are base enough to endeavour to decry his Actions, by publishing that he is in League with Foreign Nations, his Royal Highness and the said Monsieur *le Prince*, declare that they will never have any Commerce, or Correspondence whatever with them, but only as far as what concerns the general Peace, and that they will not negotiate with any Stranger Princes, before it be judged beneficial for the Kings Interest, and the good of the Kingdom, both by the Parliament, and the chief Persons that shall enter into this present Union.

X.

And in fine, that the ill intentioned, and the persons most zealous for Cardinal *Mazarine*, may not have reason to doubt of his Royal Highness and Monsieur *le Prince's* good intentions, they have thought fit to declare expressly by this Article, that they have no other design than the security of their own Persons; and whether it be that the unhappy

happy Commotions of the State will oblige them to employ their Arms for the expulsion of the said Cardinal *Mazarine*, or that things may be accommodated by his exclusion in the manner as has been above demonstrated, they will not pretend to any new model of Government, but put their whole satisfaction in that which *France* must needs rejoice to see an end of their troubles, and the publick quiet assured.

XI.

His Royal Highness and Monsieur *le Prince*, notwithstanding judge it fit for many weighty considerations, to agree together to contribute as much as lies in their power towards an Agreement, for the just and reasonable satisfaction of all those who are now engaged in the common cause, or who hereafter shall joyn themselves to them, that they may receive effective marks of their protection.

This present Treaty was double signed by his Royal Highness, and by the Counts *de Fiesque*, and *de Gancourt*, for, and in the name of Monsieur *le Prince*, Monsieur *le Prince de Conty*, and the Duchess
of

of *Longueville*, by virtue of the power that Monsieur *le Prince* gave them which was presently delivered into the hands of his Royal Highness, by the said Count *de Fiesque*, the two Counts were engaged, and obliged themselves to procure to his said Royal Highness, the Ratifications of those for whom they had engaged within a month at farthest.

Concluded at *Paris* the 24th day of *January* in the Year of our Lord 1652. signed *Gaston Charles Leon, de Fiesque, Joseph de Gaucourt.*

A N
APOLOGY,
OR THE
DEFENCE
OF THE
DUKE *de BEAUFORT*,

Against the Court, the Nobility,
and the People.

Gentlemen,

‘ **W**ERE I as Eloquent as those
‘ who have written either for
‘ the Court, or the Princes, you should
then have a fine Apology in favour of
the Duke *de Beaufort*, but having spent
the most part of my time in Hunting or
Playing at Tennis with him, be pleas’d
to pardon me the labor of Eloquence,
and allow me to go on without Inter-
ruption

terruption in the broad common Road.

To come quickly to the purpose, there appear three points in my Discourse, as also there were in his advice, The first is to justify him to the Court, who thought him ill-intention'd; The second, to re-establish him with the Nobility, who despis'd him; The third, to regain him the love of the publick, who abandon'd him. And now do you judge, Gentlemen, if I have not a hard Task, and if it would not be more easie to overthrow the Cardinal and set the Princes at liberty, than to succeed in what I undertake.

I say the Court is most injurious to the Duke *de Beaufort*, to believe that he has any ill thoughts against it, and these are my reasons, if the Duke *de Beaufort* retain'd a hatred for the Court, if his reconciliation with Cardinal *Mazarine* was not really sincere and free, he would have still kept himself in a condition to have prejudiced him, or at least to have secur'd himself; but to take away all subject of fear or suspicion, and to establish himself in an entire Trust; he was himself Author of his own discredit with the Parliament, he also drew upon himself the contempt of the People of
Qua-

Quality, and the hatred of the vulgar ; what appearance was there then, that the Duke *de Beaufort*, doing whatsoever he could to please the Court, design'd not to serve it, or was willing to be at difference with it.

Moreover, if it was true, that he endeavor'd to maintain a Confederacy disadvantageous to the Kings Authority, he would have joyn'd with the *Frondesurs*, and both alike have aim'd at the same mark ; but all the World knows that he broke with *Madam de Cheveruse*, lest he might seem to act contrary to the Testament of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, if he continued any manner of Correspondence with her ; what likelihood is there then, that a man, who bears so nice a respect to the memory of the late King, should have such pernicious thoughts against him that is now Reigning.

As to the uniting of the chief Minister, and the Admiral, it cannot be desired to be either more strong, or more strict, and they are both too generous to believe, that there has been given and receiv'd Fourscore thousand Livres a year, as a pledge of a false reconciliation.

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But passing by all conjectures, where in there are a thousand concluding circumstances, tell me why was *Mazarine*, proclaimed upon *Pont-neuff*, in the Palace, and in all publick places? why in the last Assembly of the Parliament, did he sollicite the remainder of his Friends in the Cardinals behalf, if he was not really true to his Interest?

He is also accus'd to have made use of his power, to ruine the Duke *d'Espernon*, and what could this gallant Prince have otherwise done, unless he had suffered Injuries with a Christian Patience, and retired himself into a Cloister? Can it be denied, that no persecution ever equalled that he suffered from the Duke *de Candale*? and his eagerness to dishonor so near a Relation, did it not merit that Revenge?

But to say truth, these are only particular concerns, and in all cases he revenges himself upon his Enemies in spite of the Court, by a kind of compensation: he knows how to abandon his friends to please it. *Fontrailles* and *Chatta* once so zealous for his interest, by experience are made sensible of it, and the Count *de Fiesque* having received the same treatment, has reason
to

to condemn himself all his life, for the useless generosity he shewed him.

Let us then conclude, that never any Man observed more the intentions of the Court, and that the Queen would hardly have refused him the Government of *Bretaigne*, but that she believ'd the great Services he had done, to be sufficiently rewarded by the command of Admiral.

Now after having thus justified this great Duke in what relates to the Court, I will endeavor to do the same to the true Nobility, and make it appear that nothing is more unreasonable than the contempt they have lately shewn him.

When I speak of the true Nobility, I mean not those, whom his rough manner of speaking only makes his Enemies, Men bred up in softness and sloth, who by frequenting the Ladies Chambers, are accustomed to a quite different sort of entertainment.

The Duke *de Beaufort* is proud to be unacquainted with too soft and tender discourse, fit only to effeminate Courage, and soften the mind ; he has not made it his business to study scrupulous, and nice distinctions ; he is not delicate in his eating, nor studious to be well drest,
but

but he knows how to make himself be beloved by his Neighbours, and when he has need of Friends, he has an hundred Gentlemen that will serve him with hand and heart at his command.

This is the manner of this great Dukes living; but I see I am to satisfy the Nobility upon another point; and there are few Gentlemen that speak concerning the business of *Renard*, that do not also speak of how little care he took to satisfy so many Persons of Quality so much offended. Before I come to particulars I must tell you that this good Prince repented himself a thousand times of that action; and to shew you that I neither approve the thing it self, nor the consequence of it, I accuse him of too much Passion and Courage shewn in *Renards* house, as also too much Reflection and Wisdom in the pursuit of it; but, Gentlemen, you are so little indulgent to him, you may excuse a Man, who has only taken one thing for another, who was Valiant when he ought to have been Wise, and Wise, when he ought to have been Valiant, so that it was at most but a small mistake, and it would be too severe in you not to pardon it.

And

And then, if all things were taken in the greatest rigor, with whom should the Duke *de Beaufort* have fought? had he fought the Duke *de Candall*, which was the right measures he ought to have pursu'd at the least disadvantage, the whole Court had rejoyc'd; the Queen was still dissatisfied for the War of *Paris*, his reconciliation with Cardinal *Mazarine* was not yet well settled, almost all people crowded to offer their Services to the Duke *de Candall*, God knows what joy there would have been, had he been either wounded or disarm'd; to have fought with *Bouteville* would have been as bad, for no misfortune could have befallen him, but Monsieur *le Prince*, and his friends would have gain'd yet more advantage; in the manner that he had treated *Gerzé* it was past giving quarter, and the Vow he made all his life to observe the Precepts of Nature, obliged him to take care not to be transported to that Inhumanity.

It is certain he had fought with *Moret*, but that he appointed the place too far from Chyrurgions, as the Duke *de Beaufort* judiciously told him; and as to what Monsieur *de Paluan* said upon it, that he ought to have been contented

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with simpatherick Powder. This was proper indeed for Men like himself without Conscience; but the Duke *de Beaufort* is too good a Man to make use of any supernatural Remedies. The Duchess of *Vendosme* his Mother having always preached to him that it was better to dye a thousand deaths than to seek a Cure from Magick.

These are the reasons why he did not draw his Sword; every one may judge of them as he pleases; for my part it will be always my opinion, that a gallant Man cannot be too careful to keep his Enemies from taking advantage of him, which might have befallen the Duke *de Beaufort*, had he engaged with such desperate people; but I grant that he was a little too much transported with heat, and by the impetuous motion of a great Soul, over which he was not then Master, he unseasonably offended so many worthy Men, and shall we say, that there is no way to repair an affront but by death? And if so great a Man as he will have so much goodness as to own a fault, ought his Civilities to be despised? What acknowledgments did he not make to all that were concern'd? What satisfaction did he not give except that
of

of Fighting? A satisfaction cruel and bloody, that all other Nations have reason to reproach us with. Was that brave Prince as nice in resenting Injuries, as those Gentlemen who complain, how much ought it to trouble him now to think that he has neglected nothing that could gain him the love and friendship of the Nobility? You know as soon as ever he had made his own Peace, he began only to think of making the Fortunes of deserving Men, and resolv'd to employ all his Power and Credit for the service of others, without so much as thinking of his own Interest: to some he generously offer'd the security of his protection; to others, all the advantages that they could gain by his favour; he freely distributed Offices, and Governments, and yet could not find one that would be his Favourite, amongst them all, they were so much abused by the hopes of the Court; there was not one that did not refuse his kindness; the resentment that he felt to see his liberality thus despis'd, forced him to mind his own Interest, and in despite of his former design, he saw himself reduced to the troublesome necessity of soliciting his own Affairs.

This was the first time that the Duke *de Beaufort* perceiv'd himself slighted by the Gentry, and particularly those about the Court; these were the first marks of their contempt, which passed in a very little time to the most bloody outrages: In the War of *Paris* they talked of nothing but of his Generosity, and Courage; and see but the Injustice of the World! for they now endeavour to defame him by those very same actions whereby he acquired his Reputation.

Every one knows how much he was complimented upon *Nertieu's* death, and supposing really that he had not kill'd him, the modestest Man might have been perswaded that he did it as he was, and those same people full of complaisance and civility at that time, now grown ill humour'd, design to rob him of that glory wherewith they themselves adorn'd him, and by a search as exact as it was industrious, found, (as they say) that he never came near *Nertieu* till after he was dead.

His fighting with *Briole* was at first esteem'd so extraordinary that it might make all the *Roman* Heroes tremble.

Now, say they, *Briole* took his Sword from

from him, as from a Mad man, whom rage or some other passion had transported besides himself.

Do these Gentlemen think that he is ready to change his opinion upon as light grounds, as they have done ? and that a Man, who was possessed with the belief, that he killed *Nertieu*, when they complimented him upon it, can resolve to believe nothing of it, when they shall take a fancy to say against it. No, no, Gentlemen! you ought to be more steady, and not reproach him with your own inconstancy ; it might be indeed that he did not kill *Nertieu*, but since you once own'd it, your denying it at present will not prove the contrary.

Now from particular actions let us pass to his personal Qualities ; they represent him a Man rude, yet without familiarity, sly, and yet silly, and by an odd mixture, he at once possesses, say they, the cunning of the Duke *de Vendosme* his Father, and the simplicity of the Duchess his Mother ; if you will believe them, he promises to all, but keeps his word with none ; he pretends in Business to dispatch three Posts, whereof not one gets up on Horseback ; and also refuses himself from the Queen what he never ask-

ed ; What would you have more ? he sollicitates for a Man in publick, and against him in private : I cannot tell any one thing that they do not say of his manner of discourse : They make him write ridiculous Letters to Monsieur *Be-thune*, which I am sure he never thought of : in all unavoidable Suits in Law they would make appear in him the accidents of life : When others eat Meat in *Lent*, he is for bringing in new Government ; Chambers hung with black are wanton, and the most lascivious looks are mournful : *Laval* is dead of a bruise that he received in the head ; and the Chevalier *de Chabot* for having been ill drest of his Tympany : There is no sort of thing, that they don't make him to have done ; there are no sort of undecent words, that they don't make him to have utter'd ; but nevertheless I cannot but think him a Man of great Sincerity and Parts, who wants neither Probity nor Understanding.

Can it be imagined , that a Prince bred up in the innocence of Country Pleasures, should be capable of so many exquisite Cheats ? Can it be imagined, that a Prince of his Birth could be ignorant of the most common things ? For my part,

I must instead of believing what appears so strange, and so disadvantageous to the Duke *de Beaufort*, still admire his Generosity or Patience, either to pardon or suffer the Injuries that were done him.

Did not I fear passing here for a Declamour, I would end this Chapter to the Nobility in exhorting them to live as well with him as he resolves to do with them; and addressing my self to the Gentry, I must say to them from him; Leave, Gentlemen, leave off this malicious hatred, and affected contempt, and return into the same mind you were in at the death of the late King; remember but that generous time, when every body crowded into his Interest, when the Colonel of the *Swisses*, the Officers of the Kings House, and the People of Quality renounced both the Court, and their Fortunes for the love of him. If you return, Gentlemen, he is ready to receive you, and in a condition to do the same things for you, as he has already done; but if you are obstinate, and will not return, I declare he will have no more to do with you, but will endeavour to re-establish himself in the love of the People, who have left him: 'Tis true, he owes the beginning of his Re-

Putation to you, but he owes also the greatest part of his contempt to you, so that he thinks himself discharged from any manner of acknowledgment, by the just resentment of your unkindness. Therefore, Gentlemen, you see there is now no need to make any longer dispute.

And now it is time to come to his Justification to the People, and as he owns himself, that he owes his Safety, Fortune, and Reputation to them; There is not any thing he would not do to wash away the ill impression they have of him, which comes either from his Misfortunes, or the Malice of his Enemies.

'Tis not, but that if he had a Mind not to make any acknowledgment, he could find Proofs against such an obligation, and whosoever examines things even with the greatest rigour, will find without doubt, that their love for him was rather a necessary effect of his Destiny, than a free and obliging motion of their own; for at the name only of the Duke of *Beaufort*, the People were insensibly mov'd, and I cannot say by what sentiments, but every heart was transported to an extremity of love. It is certain, that they looked upon him as their only

ly support, before he served them, or had done any thing that could attract either, their Gratitude, Love or Esteem; so that they have done for him only what they could not hinder themselves from doing, therefore he is much more obliged to the lucky Planet, that ruled his Birth, than to their good Wills: Notwithstanding he acknowledges that he owes all things to them, and does not pretend by an exquisite Ingratitude, to pay real obligations.

He does not only protest that he will always endeavour to serve the People, who have served him, but he declares that he shall retain for ever a particular love for them, a perfect resemblance of humour, a secret agreement of thought, a just conformity of words, which will maintain an eternal League betwixt them.

Yet we see the *Parisians* have not only unjustly broke off this love which reached to the very brink of Folly, but are passed into as violent a hatred: These are only to reproach him of Perfidiousness and Inconstancy; but when they beheld him less miserable, they then began to treat him as a Man both ungrateful, and corrupted. Permit me,
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Gentlemen, for I speak without passion, if I say any thing in favour of him, think me not won to it by interest, nor impos'd upon, nor that I intend to draw upon me a general hatred, to preserve the kindness of a particular person; I here profess an entire sincerity, and God is my witness, I follow no other dictates than my own reason.

Three things, if I am not deceiv'd, ruin'd the Duke of *Beaufort* in your opinion; his agreement with the Cardinal, his taking the Admiralty, and his solicitations in the last Assemblies.

For his agreement with the Cardinal, unless you are unjust to him, you cannot take it ill. Had he agreed without considering your interests, and had only taken care of his own, you then would have reason to complain; but it is certain, the whole aim of his reconciliation, was only to seek a more secure and easie means to ruine the Cardinal; for when he saw that all *France* in Arms could not effect it, and that open and declared hatred was fruitless, he flew to the appearances of friendship; and as he himself says, he designs to
ruine

ruine him when he least thinks of it.

His Mind, which is as capable of Intrigue as of War, which is as quick, as bold, will furnish him with a thousand adroit and ingenious ways; not to speak of his politick Star, which will lead him to the government of the State, and set him beyond the reach of all *Italian* Politicians.

If any one a little too nice in the rules of Honour, thinks it inglorious in the Duke *de Beaufort*, to retain his intention to ruine the Cardinal, after having received such considerable kindnesses from him: I answer, He treated not with him as a friend, but on the contrary, I am perswaded, that when he took upon him the office of Admiral, he shew'd himself the worst enemy he had in the World.

And Gentlemen, do you not believe that the Duke *de Beaufort* less prejudic'd him in the War of *Paris*, than in the Peace; and in your opinion, was not *Vitry* Fight more indifferent to the Court, than the negotiation concerning the Admiralty?

In all the War he was never in a better condition, than either to run away, or stand and be beaten; besides his
Court

Courage and his Security never agreed together, he seldome went into the field without fear, and as seldome return'd into *Paris* without shame; and his most successful enterprizes were only to get Bread without fighting.

At that time the Duke of *Beaufort* reduc'd with you to the last necessity, to say truth, neither much frighted, nor much hurt those Troops that came from *St. Germain*s; but now let him force the Court, let him take even from the Queen herself fourscore thousand Livres a year, and you call it still reconciliation, and true friendship: No, Gentlemen, undeceive your selves, and believe that he has now perform'd the most subtle of all revenges.

If in the Complement that he made the Cardinal, to thank him for that affair, he assur'd him to be as strictly bound to his interest, as *Chamflury*, we must suppose he only added raillery to the first injury; for 'tis to violate the respect that is due to the quality of a Prince, to imagine that he could be capable of such a meanness; those of the very first quality may stile themselves friends of the chief Ministers, but to stoop so low as to make themselves
equal

equal to the Captain of their Guards, that was never done ; and all this only to take away from you all reason of suspicion, I must ask you if the Duke *de Beaufort* be less mistrustful than he was before, when a person of quality sent a Challenge to him, and he sent away the Gentleman to *Commeny*, like Creditors to a Treasurer : May not this be call'd an artifice of the Court ? And is there not a Letter printed, which declares enough his opinion ; in all things he chuses those precautions, which his mistrust furnishes him withal ; if they deliberate at the Palace Royal, if they consult at the *Hoftel de Montbason*, they have all there particular counsels, and in their Clofets resolve upon all important affairs.

I own that the Duke *de Beaufort* did sollicite for the Cardinal, but you can't deny, but that it was not so much in his favour, as against the Princes ; and if you can direct but how he may ruine the Cardinal by the Princes, and the Princes by the Cardinal, you then will lay upon him the greatest obligation in the World ; 'tis the unhappiness of the place wherein he is seated, rather than the malice of his nature, which makes
him

him dread all men, and love no body; he retains still what goodness can be preserv'd amongst so many nice interests; he does not envy Monsieur le Prince the constancy that he shew'd in the *Bois de Vincennes*, and though there may fall out such disorders, as may cast a shadow upon his glory, he only wishes to put a speedy period to his days, to confirm his reputation.

The Prince of Condè is in his opinion, of so weak and so tender a constitution, that the least exercise, one chase of Hunting, one Debauch, one motion, though never so little too violent, is enough to kill him, if he were at liberty; in the heat of devotion that he is now in, he never grows weary of praising God for the conversion of the Duke de Longueville, and the joy that he has to see him say his Breviary is beyond expression; he is sorry to see the Cardinal troubled with the government of so tumultuous a people as those of *France*, and that the refinedness of his Wit may be still in action; he wishes him well employ'd in *Italy*; besides the goodness which makes him so much desire the glory of these Gentlemen, We must confess, that his pains and care of the publick
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let him take no rest, and the interest of the State becomes so precious to him, that he cannot suffer it in the hands of another, and even Life it self appears useless to him, if he does not employ it in governing.

Without flattering him, Gentlemen, What is it that we may not expect from his zeal, and vast capacity? Would you have him hinder the Kings authority from being acknowledg'd? Would you have him at the same time oppose the liberty of the Princes, and draw the Duke *d'Espernon* from his Government? Would you have him raise a Sedition for the good of the publick, cause the City to put up their Chains, or arm the factious? Would you have him at every assembly in the Palace, or at the Town-house, at all the Councils? There is neither labour nor danger that he refuses for love of you, there are great services to be expected from him, and the least suspicion of his fidelity would infinitely trouble him; for he is always ready to sacrifice his quiet for yours.

Methinks nevertheless some considerations ought to be had, not to exact any thing from him that is above his strength;
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don't expect that he should go imprudently to withstand the Arch-Duke; 'tis well known, that he is unacquainted with War in the open field, and to fight with well disciplin'd men, to our Heroe is a quite new thing; 'tis to be like the *Gascons*, and those who are little by their births, to pass their lives like the people of *Croatia*, 'tis to act like men in despair, to set all the fortune of a Nation upon the hazard of one Battel; for him, whom both Estate and Birth make incapable of any action that may be either mean or foolish; he will gloriously maintain his place in the Council, and employ all his time to give such advice, as will immediately be in every bodies mouth; as soon as he has spoke it.

*The end of the Apology for the
Duke de Beaufort.*

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MEMOIRES

OF

Monsieur *de la Chastre*,

Concerning what pass'd at the
Death of *Louis* the Thirteenth,
and the beginning of the Re-
gency.

IT is difficult for him to appear pru-
dent that is unfortunate, and as
the most part of men regard only
the appearances of things, success
alone directs their judgements, and no
design appears to them either well laid,
or well pursu'd, that has not a favour-
able event. In the disgraces that are
fallen upon me this last year, nothing
has more encreas'd my sufferings, than
to see those of my own friends, whom I
X know

know most zealous for me, blame and condemn me, and without just examination, accuse me to have been my self, by my ill conduct, the author of my own ruine: It would be too great presumption in me to believe that I was guilty of no faults, in all the time I have been at Court, since the most refin'd Courtiers are often at a stand on certain occasions, and how skilful and pliant soever they be, they are often plung'd into accidents, from whence they cannot well retire. I confess, I may have fail'd, either for want of experience, or in not enough constraining my nature, which is an enemy to all manner of deceit or cunning.

When I first came to wait upon the King, I brought to Court a mind, unfit for cheating and mean actions, and which was too open and free for that place; but still that sort of life I thought honest enough to continue ever since, and though I have apparently found that it was not the way to make a fortune, I still preferr'd the satisfaction of my Conscience, an uncorrupted reputation, and some few friends, men of Honour, to the dignities and advantages that I might expect in being a spy,

spy, or in playing double, promising at the same time to serve both parties. Perchance it is that I have been too open in this frank manner of living, which I have always observ'd, or I have stuck too firmly to my friends, when they were in a declining posture; it is in one of these two points that I have chiefly fail'd; but I believe such faults will appear excusable with men of integrity, and I hope their ground too honest to have the consequences condemn'd.

These are, without disguising any thing, all the crimes that I find my self guilty of, and to make it yet more clear, I will deduce in few words, and very faithfully, the most considerable things which pass'd in the last years that I was at Court, because that although my private interest was very far distant from the interest of the State, yet even the most important publick affairs have been in some manner engag'd with my particular ones.

Not long after the birth of our present King, *Louis* the Fourteenth, seeing that there was nothing for me to expect whilst Cardinal *Richelieu* was possess'd of all the power, because I would not be servile to him, and besides that I was

ally'd and in bonds of friendship with many whom he held suspected; I believ'd I ought to think of striking in with some other party, which might one day raise my fortunes, and none appear'd to me either so just or of so great hopes as the Queen's, for the King her Husband very unhealthful, and in all appearance not being able to live till such time as his Son was at the age of majority, the Regency would infallibly in few years fall into her hands; whose almost continual adversities suffer'd with so much patience, had rais'd her esteem to such a degree, that she was thought the best, and mildest of Women, and the most unlikely to forget those who had adher'd to her in her disgrace; these glorious qualities charm'd me, and moreover, I thought it was honourable to throw my self upon her side, in a time when the absolute power of her Persecutor made all weak and interested people shun approaching her, and by exquisite tyranny left scarcely one about her, but Traytors, or those whom dulness exempted from suspicion, and made incapable of serving her in any thing whatever. From that time I devoted my services wholly to her, which I assur'd her of
by

by *Mademoiselle de St. Louis*, (now *Madam de Flavacourt*) and also by *Monsieur de Brienne*: The kind answer she return'd, engag'd me yet more, so that from that time I resolv'd to quit all thoughts of advancement in the Court, till such time as she should be in a condition to confer it upon me: or that I believ'd I might be more serviceable to her in some other employment, than Master of the Wardrobe to the King, which I then had. I liv'd in this resolution till the Cardinal's Death, after which the Queens Enemies beginning to make their court to her, it was not strange, that I who had before devoted my self entirely to her, carefully sought all opportunities to testifie my zeal to serve her; and in a very little time I found one, which I carefully embraced, and propos'd to her Majesty by *Monsieur de Brienne*, and having afterwards spoken to her my self concerning it, she judg'd that it would be advantageous for her service, and thank'd me in such terms, as both doubled my desire to serve her, and encreas'd my hopes. What I propos'd was the buying the Office of Colonel of the *Swisse*, in which I neither regarded the great summ of

Money that I imploy'd in it, nor many other considerations, that the sight of a Wife and three Children might produce, who were inevitably ruin'd, if by my death my place should be lost to them without recompence: I then sacrificed to the Queen all my Family without regret; and whether it was that my free manner of proceeding pleas'd her, or that she believ'd I might be capable to serve her, from that time I daily receiv'd more of her favours than I had done before; she spoke of me to some of her greatest confidants, as of a man who had entirely devoted himself to her, and whom she esteem'd for his fidelity, ordering the Bishop of *Beauvais* (in whom she then most confided) to communicate freely to me all things that might be for her service; this was about the same time that the Duke de *Beaufort* return'd from *England*, for as soon as Cardinal *Richelieu* was dead, the Bishop of *Lisieux*, by the Queen's order, writ to him to return; and he, without any other precaution, immediately left *England*; and as soon as he was landed in *France*, writ to me by a Gentleman nam'd *Drouilly*, wherein he declared that he repos'd much confidence

confidence in me, and also desir'd me to serve him in what I could with the King; and added, That Monsieur de Montresor (who he knew not only to be my Cousin Germain, but also my most intimate Friend, and who likewise was very particularly his,) had assur'd him that I would be glad to serve him: The answer that I thought the fittest to make Dronilly was, That Monsieur de Beaufort did me too great an honour in confiding in me, and that I beseeched him to tell me in what I might be serviceable to him; protesting to execute whatsoever he should require of me, with little success perhaps, but with much zeal and fidelity. Whereupon he told me, That Monsieur de Beaufort desir'd, that with some other of his Friends, I would take upon me to declare directly to the King his return into France; but at the same time he told me, That having delivered a Letter to Monsieur de Brienne, wherein the Duke de Beaufort had desir'd the same thing of him that he had of me, the good man, a better Courtier than I perchance might have been, had told him that the way to ruine his interest was to execute what he propos'd: for he

himself, who knew better how the World then stood, than he who was so newly come from beyond Seas; was of opinion that it should be first told to the chief Ministers, and that he would go that minute to find them out: The affair being thus, I told him it was now past consulting, and that since the chief Ministers knew of the Duke *de Beaufort's* return, it was fit to expect what they would do, and not to undertake any negotiation with the King without them, which would but provoke them, and make them his Enemies; for my own part, I was just returning from *Paris* to *St. Germain's*, where the King was, with design that if I saw a favourable moment to serve him, I would not to let it slip; as soon as I came to *St. Germain's*, thinking to tell the Queen this news, I found that she was already well instructed of it; I since heard it was by the Bishop of *Lisieux*: Some time afterwards Messieurs *de Sully*, *de Retz*, *de Fiesque*, *de Chabot*, and I, went to *Anet* to visit the newly arriv'd Duke; 'twas in this Journey that I enter'd into a more strict bond of friendship with him, for before I was not much acquainted with him, and also in some occasions

was

was engag'd in interests contrary to his; as, in my opinion, the greatest mark of esteem and love, is trust; 'twas by that I was engag'd by him; he express'd himself to be extreamly oblig'd to me for my frank answer to *Drouilly*, he discours'd with me without the least reserve of all his concerns, and at length upon the present state of the Court, not in very polite terms, (he not being naturally eloquent,) but yet by words which plainly manifested the most beautiful and noble thoughts that could be wished, and wherein I observed that he was much fortify'd in *England*, having both carefully studied, and well retain'd the maxims of some men of honour and integrity, whom he had there frequented, but what bound me yet more to him was two things, one whereof was the straight union I knew he had with *Monfieur de Montresor*, whose interests was always mine, and the other was the extraordinary zeal that appear'd in him for the Queens service, which was the party to which I absolutely adher'd; this last consideration it was that weigh'd down the ballance, and 'twas the same that united me ever since to him; but because it will appear more plain

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plain in the following discourse, I am oblig'd to return nigher its beginning, to deliver it more exactly.

After the Cardinals death, all *France* was fill'd with an imagination of an entire change in the management of affairs; all people knew that he maintain'd his power with the King only by the awe he had over him, therefore it was believ'd that the cause dying with him, the Kings hatred would fall upon all the remains of his family and party; but these hopes, which only served to flatter so many, were soon ended, for in a few days after they saw (with wonder) his house confirm'd in its ancient dignity, his last Will entirely observ'd, save only in one point, which was the change of the Offices of Sur-intendant of the Admiralty, and the General of the Galleys, the first whereof were given to the Duke *de Brezé*, and the last to the *Petit pont de Courlay*, Duke *de Richelieu*, although his Eminence on his Death-bed had desired the contrary, and had design'd the office that was given to the one for other; I shall not speak of the bustle this business made between the Dutchesse *d' Aiguillon* and the Marschal *de Brezé*, who spoke against her all that

that his rage could suggest, I will only say that the Marechal's ancient familiarity with the King gave him that advantage, without the help of any body; but although the disposals of the best Offices and Governments of the Kingdom seem'd preposterous to those who consider'd it, and though the Government of *Britany*, given to the Marechal *de Milleray* (who we saw poorly quit it a little after) appear'd very extraordinary; people were much more surpriz'd to see Cardinal *Mazarine*, Monsieur *Chavigny*, and Monsieur *Noyers*, without any others, in the Kings most secret Councils; I say only, because that although the Chancellour, the Sur-intendant *Boutillier*, and the two Secretaries of State, *de Brienne*, and *de la Vrilliere*, were in appearance present at all the deliberations, it is certain that the private intrigues were only known to the first three; and besides the great Council wherein all those that I have nam'd did sit, which was held once or twice a week, those three living assiduously at *St. Germaines*, held also one at least every day with the King, wherein the most principal things were resolv'd. Their Protector was no sooner dead,

dead, but they seeing themselves call'd to the chief ministry of affairs, judg'd that the only way to maintain themselves in it, was to be united together, and to act with one accord in all things ; but whatsoever resolution they had taken, their first actions, and the different ways they took, soon discover'd their secret divisions ; Cardinal *Mazarine* and Monsieur *de Chavigny*, who were always united, were yet more strictly in this juncture ; and as the last was not ignorant of the aversion the King had for him, he believ'd that nothing could support him, but to joyn his interests inseparably with the others', who being but newly enter'd into the management of affairs, would for a long time stand in need of his instructions ; the method they took to insinuate themselves into the Kings favour, was to appear dis-interested in all things, even to affect saying that the greatest desire of one was to return into *Italy*, and of the other to retire from the bustle and noise of the Court, to live more quiet ; this first foundation laid, they next made themselves sure of people to declare their good services to the King, and who endeavour'd to persuade him, that the great expence that

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Cardinal *Mazarin* had always made, was an infallible effect of a humour no ways greedy of Money, and what he believ'd necessary in the place which he then held, of first Minister of State; for which reason he recall'd to Court the Commander *de Souray*, who by having been bred up with the King had acquir'd so perfect a knowledge of his nature, that he appear'd now most capable to serve them, though the deceas'd Cardinal, after the Siege of *Rachelle*, fearing his Wit, had remov'd him from the King. he had not forgot the way to insinuate himself into his affection, so that in few days he re-enter'd into his Majesties favour, enough to become useful to those who employ'd him.

But besides this first Emissary, their free and magnificent manner of living, the profession which they made to oblige all the people of quality, and the particular care they took to release some who were Prisoners, and recal others from Banishment, gain'd them the friendship, or at least the complaisance and approbation of the greatest part of the Court, and amongst the rest the *Messieurs de Schomberg, de Lesdiguières, de la Rochefoucault, and de Mortemar*;

temar; I omit speaking of Monsieur de *Liancourt*, for he having been always an intimate friend of *Chavigny*, and a particular one of the Cardinal's, 'twas not strange that he continued in the same condition. The little Monsieur de *Noyers* had the same intent as the others, to insinuate himself into his masters affection, but the method he took was quite contrary, for the two first affected splendour and shew, instead of which his manner of living was low and obscure; and whilst the others had their houses fill'd with company, and pass'd away part of the day, and often the whole night at play, or some other diversion, he apply'd himself closer than ever to business, and hardly ever stirr'd out of his Chamber, but only at those times that he was serving God, or waiting upon the King, with whom his Office of a Secretary of State for the Army gave him more agreeable Subjects to entertain his Majesty with, than the others; for as great negotiations hung heavy upon that Prince, the care and examination of his Souldiers seem'd to be his only business; he loved now and then to retrench from the Officers, and to talk of the particulars of every Office,

fice, in the disposal whereof his greatest power he thought chiefly appear'd; the profession of devotion which Monsieur *de Noyers* made, gave him besides that a familiarity with his Majesty above the other two, for he never fail'd waiting upon him at all his private devotions, and often in his Oratory; where after having accompanied him in saying of his Breviary, he had long conferences with him. The King one time offering to give him 1 or 2 hundred thousand Crowns for a certain business, he would not accept them, but upon condition that he might employ them in the building of the *Loure*; and this proof of his not being interested, wrought no small effect upon the King. The Prisoners and the exil'd found neither Protector nor Intercessor in him; all the way he took to defend himself from the burthen of the publick hatred, was to assure them, That he would not oppose the Kings favour in their behalf: In this manner of proceeding he had two aims, one to please his Majesty, who he knew was not naturally inclin'd to do good; the other was to shew the respect he had for the memory of the deceas'd Cardinal, in not consenting so soon to be an instru-

instrument of altering what he had done; and thereby cast upon him all the violences that had pass'd: This was the first introduction of those Gentlemen, and their manner of proceeding, till the end of the year 1642. but before I leave this subject, I will say what concerns my self in it, that having treated about my place, and seeing that I should have principally to do with Monsieur *de Noyers*, as Secretary for the Army; I spoke to him about it, and was confirm'd by him in the design that I had taken to address my self directly to the King, who receiv'd me with all possible kindness, and without taking advice of any body, if it be true as the Chancellour then told me, the other two would not have been kind to me, but the King did not then love them; and I know not if it be that which I ought to look upon as the first foundation of the Cardinals hatred to me. In the beginning of the year 1643. those two parties seeing the Kings indisposition growing daily worse and worse, leaving him but little hopes of a much longer life, every one of them judg'd it now time to think of getting a support; and as they were of different opinions
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in other things, they were no less in this Monsieur *de Chavigny* believed, that his Place, and assiduous waiting upon Monsieur, and the Services that he pretended to have done him since the Treaty with *Spain*, would belook'd upon as very meritorious by his Royal Highness; and, on the contrary, the Queen would always hate him, as the having been the Principal Minister of her Enemy; he inclin'd Cardinal *Mazarin* to Monsieur's Side, and both endeavour'd to perswade the King to recall him to Court. There is one thing particularly to be mentioned in that, which at first, perhaps, does not appear of great importance, but which prov'd of so fatal a Consequence to me, that I may say, it was the beginning of my Ruine. After the taking of Monsieur *le Grand*, the Treaty with *Spain* being discover'd, there was a Talk that it was by the means of the Count *de Bethune*; Monsieur seem'd to strengthen that Falshood, by tacitly confessing it, excited by *la Riviere*, who believ'd he could be no way better reveng'd of Monsieur *de Montresor* during his absence, nor better cut off all ways of his returning again to his Master, than by making him Author, or at least Approver of so black a Ca-

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lummy against one of his best Friends. That Detraction was but short-lived; and the deceas'd Cardinal, tho not much a Friend to the Count *de Bethune*, disabused all those who spoke to him about it. The world may judge how much a Man of Honour ought to be sensible of such an Offence; but the Cardinal's Authority, which protected *la Riviere* exempted him from satisfying the just Resentments that are due to such an Injury. He maintain'd this Report during the Cardinal's Life, without suspicion; but his Death changing the Face of things, and *la Riviere* not knowing if his Master would be able or kind enough to support him against so considerable a Family, and seeing no other Prop, he fell into a mortal Fear; and some days after being sent for to come to *Paris*, by Monsieur *de Chavigny*, to Treat about his Master's Return, he could not be perswaded to take the Journey, before he was secure that the Count *de Bethune* was appeas'd, and Monsieur *de Chavigny* who had need of him, employed Monsieur *de Liancour*; and also spoke himself to the Count *de Bethune*, who being sensible of the highest affront that could be given a Gentleman, could not for some time be induc'd to give him his Word, till at length

length he was commanded by a Letter from the King, (sent by *Varrennes*, one of the Messengers, to him) which, tho it put a stop to his Proceeding, did but increase his Hatred, which was both right and justly founded. Perhaps this Digression may seem a little long; but it will appear hereafter, that it is to my purpose. *La Riviere* being at length come to Court, manag'd, with the Assistance of the two Ministers, the Interest of his Master so successfully, that in a little time he was seen with the King his Brother, in a very good Understanding, as to all appearance; whilst Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monsieur *Chavigny* took so much Pains on their Sides, Monsieur *de Noyers* took the other Ship-wrack'd Vessel, and, by *Chaudenier* his intimate Friend, assur'd the Queen of his service, and of an inseparable adherence to her Interest. After that first Declaration, he had upon the same Subject several Discourses with the Bishop of *Beauvais*, in which he clearly enough manifested the Designs of his Colleagues, who gave him sufficient Subject for Discourse at that time; for seeing the King's Distemper still increased by little and little, and his Majesty having several times spoken to them about settling the Affairs of the

Kingdom; they perswaded Father *Sirmond*, his Confessor, to propose to him a Corregency betwixt Monsieur his Brother and the Queen; and at the same time solicited many of the Parliament at *Paris* to pursue the same Design, and made use of the Interposition of the President *de Maison* for that effect. But that Proposition so much displeased the King, that after he had sharply rebuked them, and also spoke to the Queen something of it, he gave ear no more to his Confessour, and dismissing him upon some other pretext, took Father *Dinet* into his Place. After this first Attempt, these Gentlemen seeing themselves utterly excluded from their Hopes, follow'd another Bias, which agreed better with the King's Inclination, (who was carried to it enough of himself, thinking the Queen incapable of the Management of Affairs) which was to propose that same Declaration which appear'd two Months after, and which had been publish'd at that very time, if Monsieur *de Noyers* had not dissuaded the King from it. He gave the Queen notice thereof, whom this Advice about the Regency infinitely alarm'd: At the same time the King's having been in a Fever, which the Physicians apprehended dangerous,

gerous, those who understood the Particulars of the thing, offer'd anew their Services to the Queen; and I (whom she had forbidden some time before to ask to serve as *Mareschal de Camp*, judging me more useful to her in the Court) offer'd my self to her, (if the King came to the last Extremity) to go with my Regiment of *Suisses* and seise upon the *Palais*, and hinder every body whatsoever from entring, till such time as she should be received into it. This Proposition appearing full of Love and Boldness, did not a little please her; and the Answer she made me shew'd, that she was satisfied with me, and believ'd me intirely hers. A little before, the Cardinal, and Monsieur de *Chauvigny*, had perswaded the King to set at Liberty the *Mareschals de Vitry* and *Bassompierre*, and the Count de *Cramail*. The Means which they made use of to effect it, deserves to be written, being not unpleasant; for they seeing that the King was not much inclin'd to it, attaqu'd him on his weakest Side, representing to him, That those three Prisoners were an extreme Expence to him in the *Bastille*, and they not being in a condition to make any Party in the State, would be

even as well at their own Houses, where they would cost him nothing. This Design succeeded ; for the King was possess'd with so extraordinary an Avarice, that whosoever had pretention to ask him for Money, seem'd to hang heavy upon him, to such a degree, that when *Treville*, *Beaupuy*, and several others that the late Cardinal upon his Death-bed had forced him to relinquish, were returned, he sought all occasions to find out something to reproach them with, thereby to take away all Hopes of Recompence for all that they had suffer'd for him. The recalling several from Banishment, follow'd after the Freedom of those Prisoners : The Marechal *d'Estree* had leave to return from *Italy*, and Monsieur *de Merceur* to Court, where being introduc'd by Cardinal *Mazarin*, he spoke for his Brother to come to Court, which he quickly did with great Glory and Esteem : Before he went to the Ministers, he went strait to the King, who received him with the greatest Marks of Kindness, and in a moment after his Arrival began to discourse with him about the Affairs of *England*, in such a manner, as if he himself had sent him thither. The same day he granted to the Duke de *Mer-*
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cent Permission for the Duke de Vendosme to return back into France, and also saw the Dutchess of Vendosme, whom he had severely sent away, without so much as seeing her, when she came to wait upon him, even after the Cardinal's Death. Upon this Return of the Duke de Vendosme, the Queen shew'd much Kindness to the Duke de Beaufort; she appear'd to concern her self in the Treatment he had receiv'd from the King; she spoke to him with great Familiarity, and by the Favour she shew'd him, fully confirm'd what she had said to us at our return from Anet, which was that we came from seeing the worthiest Man in France: It is certain, altho he be unfortunate, that he has excellent Qualities; and for Honesty, and Fidelity, there are few can compare with him. I pretend not to say, that he has all the Prudence that one would wish; and I must own, that a little too much Vanity, and Fire of Youth, made him commit at his Return many remarkable Faults: perchance there may be a time (if it please God) that I may see him in a condition to remember him of a Discourse I had one day with him, wherein I told him, That as he then stood, he ought not to pursue

the Follies of Women, but that the *Hero* ought to be the Principal Business of his Life: Had he taken this Advice, he had not acquir'd many powerful Enemies, who contributed so much to his Ruine: But 'tis a common Fault to People of his Age, to let themselves be govern'd by Love and Hate: Without proceeding to farther Particulars, the Hatred of *Madam de Montbason* to the Duke *de Longueville*, and his to his own Wife, was the Cause that when his Love cross'd his Interest, he was carried to act what he little considered, and having disobligh'd the Duke *d' Anguien*, he made him take the Party of the great Master against him. He made another Enemy at the same time; but this he only did by his Generosity and Constancy: for, professing himself an intimate Friend to *Messieurs de Bethune* and *Montresor*, he would not salute *la Riviere*, which infinitely separated him from the Correspondence and Interest of Monsieur, who already had a grudging to him, in that he having spoken to him concerning the Treaty of *Spain*, he excus'd himself from entring into it, saying, That he ought first to have his Father's Advice about it, who was in *England*,

land, and to whom they would scarce entrust such a Secret. Most People have wonder'd, that he refus'd to enter into a League made against the Capital Enemy of his House ; and I my self could hardly comprehend the Reason of his being so backward on this Subject, did I not know, that some time after he discover'd it to the Queen, by one to whom she would not disclose her self, nor scarcely give ear to, not judging the Person prudent enough to manage an Intrigue of that importance : and, if I mistake not, it was because before he entred upon so difficult a Point, he endeavour'd to know the Queens Opinion, to whom from that time he absolutely devoted himself. In fine, whatever Reason he had to refuse it, Monsieur was beyond all measure dissatisfied at it ; and this Pretext seem'd plausible enough to furnish *la Riviere* with matter to incense his Royal Highness against him. During these different Intrigues, the King grew daily weaker, seldom going out of his Chamber, and the Physicians began to own the Period of his Life drew nigh : His sad Condition made the Cardinal and Monsieur *Chavigny* labour more pressingly to confirm themselves ;
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and when they saw that all they had done in favour of Monsieur, had brought forth no other Fruit, than the publishing the Inclination that almost all *France* had to serve the Queen; and that his Royal Highness, losing all hopes of being Corregent, did declare, that he submitted himself most willingly to her, they try'd to regain her Favour, made new Protestations of Fidelity to her, and also endeavoured to work upon the Bishop of *Beauvais*; but their Endeavours prov'd fruitless, and their Complements but little perswasive, because (besides that they had openly engag'd themselves for Monsieur) Monsieur *de Noyers*, who from the beginning had given testimony of his Zeal for the Queens Service, bore away the Merit of all that had pass'd till that time; and they, on the contrary, were look'd upon as the Authors of all the ill; and their Change rather thought a want of Power, than a Proof of their Good-wills: And certainly they had made but little Progress on that side, had the little Good man Monsieur *de Noyers* had a little more patience, or been a little more submissive to the King: His Retreat is generally imputed to his Discontent, that he could
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not obtain that Power with the King that he had fancied to himself; and to see (as is believed) the Cardinal prevail over him. 'Tis believ'd he so suddenly ask'd his Discharge, about a Contest he had concerning the *Mareschal de la Motthé*, and for the Expence of the Army in *Italy*, which he not being able to obtain himself, employ'd the Cardinal in, who perform'd it so effectually, that the very same Night he brought him leave to go to *Dangic*; but for my part, I believe, as all Intelligent Men do, that what appear'd the first Motion of a hasty Mind, was the Master-stroke of a fore-seeing and refin'd Courtier; and that *Monsieur de Noyers*, seeing the Declaration, that he had retarded till then, would in few days be published, (either by the King's Resolution, or by the Suggestions of the other two Ministers) and that he was comprehended in the number of those who were set down to be of the Council of the Regency, was perswaded, that if he retir'd from Court at a time when the King had not long to live, the Queen would not lose the Remembrance of his Services, but being justly incens'd against both the others, by reason of that Declaration, which seem'd

seem'd to put her under Tutelage, as soon as she should be in Power, would recall him; and removing those two Concurrents, would be necessarily oblig'd to make use chiefly of him, as best instructed in the State of Affairs. The following Discourse will make appear, that this Judgment is not ill-grounded; but before I go any farther, I am oblig'd to relate some particular Passages: The first is of the Government of *Britany*, given to the Great Master, which gain'd him the Hatred of the whole House of *Vendosme*, which Disagreement divided the whole Court; the Dukes d' *Anguien*, d' *Longueville*, d' *Lefdignieres*, d' *Schomberg*, and d' *la Roche Faucault*, and some others, took part with the Great Master; and almost all the rest declared themselves for the House of *Vendosme*. The Prince d' *Marcillac* being oblig'd by Monsieur le Prince, and seeing his Father of his Party, was just going to enter into it also; but speaking to the Queen about it, she commanded him to offer himself to the Duke d' *Beaufort*, speaking of him as a Man for whom she had as much Esteem and Affection, as for any Man in the World. That Order which he received became known

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to almost all who were then at *St. Ger-
mains* ; and my self hapned to have
Discourse with her Majesty about two
things, which being only of my own
Concerns, were never publick, but only
talk'd on amongst my particular Friends:
The first was concerning the Duke *de
Beaufort* ; and expressing much love
for him, I told her, That the chief Rea-
son that bound me to his Friendship,
was the extraordinary Zeal that I found
in him for the Interest of her Majesty ;
that Point pleas'd her, and she dilated
upon the Subject that I had begun, in
so kind Expressions, as left me no more
Reason to doubt her Confidence in that
poor Prince, and how much those pleas'd
her who took his part. The other Di-
scourse was a little longer ; but the Sub-
ject was, That at the same time that I en-
ter'd into the Office of Colonel-General
of the *Sniffes*, Monsieur *de Noyers* put in
L'isle de Sourdiere, his Creature, to be
Commisary-General of that Nation.
Tho this was very prejudicial to me, I
had no reason to complain, because it
was resolv'd on before I thought of buy-
ing that Place : 'Twas nevertheless a
very great Inconvenience to me ; for
Monsieur *de Noyers*, who seiz'd upon
every

every thing that came within his Grasp, gave to his Dependent a very great Authority, which prov'd very prejudicial to mine. He was no sooner retir'd, but the most part of the Court, who were ignorant of my Concerns, press'd me to think of suppressing that New Officers: For my part, tho I had no Engagement with Monsieur *de Noyers*, to oblige me from making use of the Occasion his Disgrace gave me, knowing the Queen thought him her Servant, and was not satisfied with the others, of whom I was to seek a Support, the first thing I did, I resolv'd to know her Opinion; and and going to her, told her, That this little Change had offer'd me an Opportunity to procure my self an Advantage, which would increase my Authority, and make me in a better capacity to serve her in my Office; but endeavouring to dispossess one who was a Creature of Monsieur *de Noyers*, who had appear'd most zealous for her Service; and it also being necessary for me to apply my self to those who had so demean'd themselves to her, that I had reason to believe her dissatisfied with them, I would not undertake any thing, till I came to know what her Majesty would command

mand me in it; That being absolutely devoted to her, I would accept no Advantage nor Favour but what came by her; and that I should have waited without the least impatience, till her Majesty was in a condition to have done something for me, without ever troubling her with my own Interest, had I not believ'd I ought to have rendred her an Account of this, to know of her if by my increase of Power she would judge me in a better condition to obey her Commands. After much Kindness, and assurance that she would never forget the Zeal that I had always express'd for her Service, she answer'd, That I might make use of that Occasion, and serve my self in what I could, and that she should be very glad of it, because the more Authority I had, I should be the more useful to her; That Monsieur *de Noyers* had made too much haste, and had ruin'd himself for his Fancy: And after some little Discourse concerning him, she ended without speaking a word of the other two Ministers; and promis'd me, as she left me, that if I could not obtain it before she came into Authority, she her self would grant me that Favour with a great deal of joy.

After

After this Conference, I desir'd the Commander *de Souvray* to speak to the Cardinal, and Monsieur *de Liancour* to Monsieur *de Chavigny*, to be kind to me upon this Occasion: The Answer they both return'd, was, That they would most willingly use all their Interest in it, but that they must defer it some days, because it would be the ready way to ruine themselves, to speak to the King so soon against a Man with whom they had no difference, and who entred into the Management of Affairs the same way that themselves did. It is certain, that they were not then too well assured of the King; and from the next day after Monsieur *Noyers* Disgrace, he never spoke to the Cardinal about Business, but in Monsieur *de Chavigny's* absence: as also upon a Proposition that the Cardinal made to him, he answer'd sharply, *That it was Italian-like*. To return to my Discourse: I had not time to see the Effects of their Promises; for eight days after, the King finding himself extremely weak, declared his Will about the Regency, speaking openly of that Declaration whereof I have already made mention. I believe the two Chief Ministers did not prejudice the Queen in
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it; but, as I have already said, 'tis certain, that in some Points of it they seem'd exactly to guess at the King's Thoughts, who judg'd the Queen incapable of Business, and most passionate for her own Country; and believed nothing so pernicious to the State, as the Authority of Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*, amongst other things believing him inseparable from Madam *de Chevreux*, whom he suspected, and had endeavour'd to find an Expedient to Banish for ever out of *France*. Neither was his Inclination more kind for Monsieur his Brother; and I know, that he often said to the Queen in his Sickness, That their Children had reason chiefly to fear him: So that whatsoever related to his Royal Highness, undoubtedly proceeded from his own natural Inclination. In short: whether this came from the King himself, or was the advice of his Ministers, the Queen grew extreamly inveterate against them, saying to those who had free access to Her, That it ought never to be pardon'd; and had the Cardinal, Her declared Enemy, still liv'd, he could not have done worse to her. The publick Marks of her Anger, and open

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Hatred she shew'd them, was the cause that all those who particularly adher'd to her, absolutely forbore all Correspondence with them; and from the day that the King had the Declaration read before him, and made the Queen and Monsieur take an Oath to observe it, obliging Monsieur the next day to carry it to the Parliament, the Dukes *de Vendosme*, *Mets*, and *Rets*, the Prince *de Marillac*, the Count *de Fiesque*, the Count *de Bethune*, and *Beaupuy*, as also many other of her particular Servants, whereof I my self was one, visited them no more. This was the beginning of our Misfortunes; for this first Step being made, it was almost impossible to retire again handsomly: But two Reasons chiefly oblig'd us to this; one was, a Design to please the Queen, in going no more nigh those we knew she hated; the other was the King's extreme Sickness, which gave even the Physicians reason to believe, that he could not live above two or three days, and made us resolve (seeing those two declining) to push them to the last, and endeavour to persuade the Queen to put in their Places Persons very capable, and whom the greatest part of us might hope to find our Friends.

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This Design appear'd very easie to us, considering what way the Queen was then inclin'd. The day that was appointed for the Declaration, the Physicians gave their Opinions, that the King could scarcely live till the next day; in consideration whereof, they began to speak to him to pardon and recall all those who had been exil'd: The Duke *de Beaufort* was the first, who spoke for his Father, and told the Ministers publicly, that if they did not that very moment prefer his Suit to the King, he would do it himself: But they, not to lose their Employments, instantly spoke to the King about it, and at length obtain'd the same Favour for Monsieur *de Bellegarde*, for the Mareschals *de Vitry*, *Bassempierre*, and *d' Estrée*, for the Count *de Cramait*, for *Manicant*, and *Belenghen*. The Duke *de Vendosme* return'd the very same day that *Anet* did; but those who were farther off, arriv'd one after the management of State Affairs, and another, all the rest of the Week. The Queen in the mean time, little accusom'd to Business, and finding her self amus'd through the variety of Addresses, desir'd for her own Ease, that they would make their Applications to the Bishop *de Beauvais*, in whom

for a long time, but particularly since Winter, she reposed her principal Trust. She could not have chosen a better Man for Fidelity, nor hardly a worse for Capacity, the good Prelate not having a Brain strong enough to support such a Charge.

We found what sort of Man he was, the very day that some of the Parliament, who were very zealous for the Queen, asked him what Service they could render her Majesty in the Parliament, (not doubting but the first Mark he aim'd at would be to null the Declaration) but he unseasonably pretended to be ignorant of her Majesties Intentions, delaying things at a time when the King appearing so near his End, made the loss of every moment irreparable. He is a Man of approved Honesty, and most disinterested as to Riches; but he is Ambitious, as most Devotes are: and seeing himself design'd for First Minister of State, he look'd upon every one to cast a Shadow upon his Glory: He began to grow cool, even to the Duke *de Beaufort*, with whom he had till then been in a perfect good Understanding; and went so far in it, that the Queen for some days would not see him, thinking that

that 'twas he who would have had her take Monsieur *de Limoges* about her ; but the Bishop acknowledg'd his Fault, and immediately changed his Proceedings upon this Subject, tho he did not the same to Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf* ; for apprehending lest the Queen might renew her former Inclination for him, and so diminish his Power, he ruin'd him, as far as possibly he could ; and I am still in a doubt, whether it was not by his Advice, that the Queen some time before promis'd the Seals to the President *le Baillieul*.

I know before the King's Death she had chang'd her Mind, and was resolved to do Justice to Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf* ; but I can hardly believe that the Bishop of *Beauvais* contributed to it, and am certain, that the good Man not knowing his Strength, would have laid upon his own Shoulders the Burden of the whole Government ; but the Queen found him incapable of so great a Weight from the first Moment, which gave way to his Enemies to introduce themselves, and ruine him ; in stead whereof, had he recalled Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*, tho he had not possessed the First he had at least retained a very Honourable

Place. But (as I have already said) he knew not his own Strength, and for all his Faults, he is yet worthy of Praise, in that he always dealt faithfully with his Friends, and that altho Cardinal *Mazarin* and Monsieur *de Chavigny* daily made to him some Propositions, yet he never engaged with them in any thing, that he did not first reveal to those of his Party. Perchance I may be too tedious upon small Circumstances: but the three last Weeks of the King's Sicknes being passed in little Intrigues, each particular whereof being considerable, I am forced to relate even those of the least Importance. The Evening of that Day which gave a Beginning to a thousand different Negotiations, the King found himself a little better, but not well enough to give any hopes that he could live above two or three days longer: The next day he was much the same, and towards Night (in the presence of Monsieur his Brother) chose Cardinal *Mazarin* to be Godfather to the *Dauphin*, and the Princess of *Condé* to be the Godmother. The following day his Sicknes increasing, the Cardinal began to tell him, that it was now time to prepare for approaching Death.

Death. He had no sooner spoke the word, but the King consented to it with extreme Constancy and Piety ; he Confess'd himself, and afterwards desired the *Viaticum* : The rest of the day the Physicians found he still grew worse and worse ; and the next day they judg'd him ill enough to receive the Extreme Unction. That Day (which was since nam'd *The Great Thursday*) became remarkable in the Court for many things which passed in it, whereof the Original was, that the Great Master believing the King to be upon the Point of Death, and fearing lest those of the Family of *Vendôme*, having almost all the Court on their Sides, might give him some Affront, resolv'd to guard himself the best he could, sending, for that purpose, through *Paris*, to seek out all the Officers depending upon his Place, who brought each one a Friend with him : All this Crowd amounted to about three or four hundred Horse, which coming from *Paris* in large Troops, gave 'um a kind of an Alarm at *St. Germain* : Monsieur, upon the Report, ask'd Monsieur *le Prince* if he brought all those Men with him ; who answered, That he had sent for them, thinking (as he has said since)

that he had only spoke of his Officers : But Monsieur taking the thing another way, sent at the same time for most part of his Followers; which being told the Queen, she concluded it must be for something extraordinary ; insomuch that she immediately going from the Old to the New Palace, where the King was, left Messieurs *de Vendosme* about the Princes her Children, recommending them chiefly to the Duke *de Beaufort*, in Terms which declared the highest Esteem, and greatest Confidence that could be exprest. As soon as she was come to the New Palace, she call'd for me, and commanded me aloud to send Orders to the *Guard de Suisse* to be in a readiness to March, and to send for several other *Suisse* Officers, whom I had told her were at *Paris* : She commanded me also to make sure of all the Friends I could get. Both the King and she gave afterwards Order to Monsieur *de Charots* to double the Guards within the Old Palace, where the day before we had set a Guard of two Regiments before the King's Apartment. Little could be added to the Suspicion that they both shew'd they had of Monsieur ; and I believe it would have been the same to
Monsieur

Monsieur *le Prince*, had he not been one
 of the first that came to relate what his
 Royal Highness had done, who recon-
 cil'd himself that day to the Queen, tho'
 not without Complaints of her Suspici-
 on, and laid all the Stir that had been
 made to Monsieur *le Prince's* Charge.
 I must confess, had the Duke de *Beau-
 fort* had only that one fortunate Day in
 his whole Life, I should esteem him Glo-
 rious, to have been chosen Guardian of
 the greatest and most valuable Treasure
 of *France*: He is blam'd to have been
 too forward; but there are few who in
 so advantageous an Opportunity would
 have been more moderate, and would
 not have been transported with Joy to
 see Five hundred Gentlemen (amongst
 which there were many of the best Qua-
 lity) who only waited his Orders; and
 to see even the First Prince of the Blood
 come to Complement him. If the King
 had died that day, the Ministers had
 certainly been lost without hope; and
 the Queen, animated against them by so
 many powerful Reasons, would never
 have pardon'd them: But tho' that poor
 Prince found no Ease during all that
 day, in the Evening endeavouring to
 cast off all thoughts of the State, he
 order'd

order'd the Queen to go and call a Council, (which she did, after having long excus'd her self with many Tears) he grew better in the Night, and the next day finding himself pretty well at ease, was shaved, and pass'd the Afternoon in causing little red Mushrooms to be strung, and hearing *Nielle* sing by his Bed-side, now and then speaking to him: About the Evening he told the Queen that he would call a Council, and commanded her to leave the Room; which she took for a new Outrage done her by the two Ministers, to whom this lucid moment of Health having given heart, their Adherents began to say, that if the King recover'd, they were sure of ruining the * *Im-*
 * *Les Importans.* *portants*, so they already called those who had declared themselves for the Queen, and were against them: But the following day the King being relapsed into his first languishing Condition, they had lost all hopes of his Recovery, and renew'd with greater fervour their Designs to gain the Queen, in which they were assisted by many Persons very differing in their Interests. Madam *la Princesse* (exasperated against the Duke *de Beaufort*, for the ill usage
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he had shew'd to the *Duchess de Longueville*, against whom he had made appear too much Malice and Severity) was one of the first who spoke for them: Monsieur de *Liancour* serv'd them with the extraordinary Zeal he on all occasions expresses for his Friends; and his Wife, and Madam de *Chavigny*, let no Opportunity slip: But the strongest Instruments that they employ'd, were Father *Vincent*, *Beringhent*, and *Mountaigne*; the first attack'd the Queens Conscience, and incessantly preach'd to her the pardoning of her Enemies; the 2^d, in quality of her first Servant of the *Chamber*, being assiduous at those Hours when no body saw her, perswaded her how useful they would be to her; and that having been secret to all the most important Affairs of the State, it was almost impossible for her at first to be without them: but the third, by Profession devout, mingled God and the World together, joyning to the Reasons of Devotion, the necessity of having a Chief Minister well-instructed in the Management of Affairs; adding yet another Reason, (that in my opinion absolutely gain'd her) which was, That the Cardinal had it more in his power than any body to
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make the Peace, and that being born a Subject of the King her Brother, he would conclude it to the Advantage of her Family, which she ought to endeavour to strengthen, that she might make it her Prop to support her against any Faction that might rise in *France* during her Regency.

These were the principal Springs that these Gentlemen moved withal ; to which I may also add the Princess *de Guenné*, since she was one of the first to whom the Queen opened her Intentions, and one of those who confirmed the Queen most in her Design to retain the Cardinal. I know not if I ought from that time also to count Monsieur *de Brienne* amongst the number ; but whether it was before or after the King's Death, it is certain, he was one of the first that changed his Side, after having promised us his Friendship. Perchance it will be wondered at, that all these things could pass thus, and our Cabal stir no more ; but this I have to answer, That, in the first place, the Bishop of *Beauvais*, who appear'd the Chief in the Queen's secret Thoughts, was the first deceiv'd ; for she not being satisfied with the Answers he returned her to
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what she first propos'd to him, began to dislike him, and never after let him know the bottom of her Mind : Sometimes to him, and to us all, she would shew an Inclination to keep the Cardinal in for a time ; but the moment that we gave her any Reasons to dissuade her from it, she seem'd to acquiesce to them, and spoke no more of it : But as her first mentioning of it gave us reason to suspect, so her easie condescendence to every thing we represented, quickly confirmed us it was true ; but what most deceived us, was, that at the same time that she inclined towards the Cardinal, she promised the Duke de Beaufort the Superintendency of the *Finances* for Monsieur de la Vieuville, and gave hopes of the Seals sometimes to Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, sometimes to Monsieur Baillet ; she assured the Duke de Vendosme, that in two hours after the King's Death, she would recall Monsieur de Noyers ; and also at last sent for Father Gondy, and the President Barillon, newly returned from his Exile at Amboise, to know their Opinions. I believe there might be much Dissimulation in all that Proceeding ; but it is sure that there was much Uncertainty and Irresolution : In
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the mean while the Cardinal labour'd not only on the Queens side, but try'd also to keep himself in with Monsieur, and to assure himself of Monsieur *le Prince*; but as for the last, (altho he had rather have seen things remain in their Hands that then govern'd, than Monsieur *de Chasteaunef's*) he would never promise any thing, but only to do as Monsieur did; as for Monsieur, whom *la Riviere* absolutely govern'd, he held the Cardinal in suspence to the last; and had not his private Interest oppos'd his engaging with us, I believe he had never favour'd the other Party.

I have spoken already of his open enmity with Monsieur *de Montresor*, and of the black Calumny that he invented against the Count *de Bethune*, after the Commands that the last had received from the King: *La Riviere* so much possess'd his Masters Favour, that his Royal Highness caused a Letter to be written into *England*, wherein he desir'd him to be reconciled to *la Riviere*: Monsieur *de Montresor*, who would not declare his Mind at that distance, answered only, That when he returned into *France*, he hoped to have the Honour to discourse with his Highness upon that Subject,

Subject, and then obey his Commands. This ambiguous Answer dissipated not *la Riviere's* Fear, who seeing the Friends of both his Adversaries refuse either to speak to him, or salute him, fear'd lest in the Confusion of the King's Death, he might be Shipwrack'd for want of Harbour: Therefore he desir'd to be reconciled to the Duke *de Vendosme*, which he was by the Mediation of the Mareschal *d' Estrée*, who also spoke favourably of him to the Queen, (tho when he left *England*, he assur'd Monsieur *de Montresor* of an inviolable Friendship) but he still thought he did nothing, unless he also gain'd the Duke *de Beaufort*; for the accomplishing of which Design, the day before the King died, he desir'd the same Mareschal *d' Estrée* to tell him, That if he would promise him his Friendship, and protect him against the Rage of his two Enemies, he would make an equal Return, which was, to hinder the Cardinal's remaining in the Ministry, and to make Monsieur act conformably to their desires. I was the first to whom the Duke *de Beaufort* open'd this Proposition; and as he ask'd me my Advice, I told him, That private Interest ought always to
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yield to Publick, and that I thought it very reasonable that he should give ear to the Offer which was made him; but that he must dispence with me from meddling in any thing, being Cousin-Germain, and an intimate Friend of Monsieur *de Montresor*, he desir'd me to speak to the Count *de Bethune* about it, which I immediately did, with Monsieur *d'Humieres*; but I found him so prepossess'd with the Resentment of it, that he would not yield to any other Consideration, and all the Answer I could draw from him, and which he gave also to the Duke *de Beaufort* afterwards, was, That he referr'd it all to him, but that he could not answer for his Friend (who was absent) which way he would incline: but he utter'd these words to the Duke *de Beaufort* in such a manner, as shew'd it would mortally offend him to proceed any further, in it, so that in a short time he broke off the Treaty, whereat I was extreamly troubled; for though I will be ever for the Interest of my Friends, yet I confess, I cannot see in this any thing that could make him in dispute, which way to take: and must own, I found Count *Bethunes* reasons but weak, when he said, That with-

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out regard to what concern'd himself, it was imprudence to confide in a Knave, though of Quality, and a profess'd Cheat; because if he deceiv'd us, we should be acquitted of our promises, and in a better condition than before; to pursue our Resentments; and if he was just to his promise, he would make his Services considerable enough to blot out all that had pass'd; as also when he said, he made use of what was proffer'd him, to become more advantageous to us, which had he refus'd, might have done us harm: This could but be spoke in jest, since we had before declared against each other, and were in a manner irreconcilable. Be it what it would, the Duke *de Beaufort* would think of it no more; and this ought still to add to his Glory, that on that occasion, and on all others, he still prefer'd Honor before Profit, and always the least regarded what concerned himself, which appear'd evidently when the King distributed several of the greatest Offices belonging to the Crown; and Monsieur *le Prince* had the great Master given to him: the Duke *de Beaufort* might have had the Master of the Horse, if he would have made Friends for it,

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and though that the Queen press'd him to take it, he always answered her, *That he would never receive any favor but from her*: And it is most certain, that at that time the Cardinal would have given any thing to have had him his Friend; and not only him, but all his party, which I know to be true. The Commander *de Souray* being sent to me from him to found me, told me, That although I was accounted amongst his greatest Enemies, yet our old Friendship at *Rome* hinder'd him from believing me so: To which I only answer'd, That I was oblig'd to him for having that kind opinion of me, but that I medled with nothing, but to perform the duty of my charge, and serve the Queen.

Things were in this posture when the King dy'd, at which time if an affront had been given to any one of the Ministers, without doubt in the consternation they were in, all the rest had fled; but it was thought best to let the Queen take her own course, and the Bishop of *Beauvais* promoted that Opinion. As soon as the Queen was return'd into the old Palace, and every one had paid their Homage to our new Monarch, there hap-
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ned a difference between Monsieur le Prince, and the Duke *de Beaufort*, wherein the last behaved himself a little too haughtily: The subject of it was, the Queen retiring from her Chamber till they had emptied the Room of the horrible croud that had press'd in, sent the Duke *de Beaufort* to tell Monsieur, that he should make them clear the Room, and that he should stay alone with her to comfort her. Monsieur le Prince, who was standing by his Royal Highness, catch'd immediately at the word, and answered, That if the Queen would command him any thing, she should send a Captain of the Guards to him; but as for the Duke *de Beaufort*, he would receive no Orders from him. The Duke *de Beaufort* answer'd him briskly, That he would not concern himself to give him any Order, but that there is no Man in *France* should hinder him from doing what the Queen commanded. This little dissention was appeas'd again in a moment, though the grudge still remain'd: The Ministers now beginning to find that it was talk'd publickly, that the Queen, as soon as she was at *Paris*, would annul the Declaration, believ'd, that if they submitted

to her, they might defend that stroak, and sent to tell the Queen (as they had done before) they would absolutely remit all the Authority given them by that Declaration, and pass whatsoever Act she pleas'd. This moderated the Queen, insomuch that when she came next day to *Paris*, she was not resolv'd what to do, but in the two following days they represented to her, that the Regency had neither its necessary luster nor authority, if it was not confirm'd in Parliament; without restriction, they made it appear also to Monsieur, how much that Declaration was injurious to him, so that at length they both agreed to have it annull'd, Monsieur *le Prince* consenting also to it. It is true, to get them to give their consent, the Bishop of *Beauvais* promis'd from the Queen, a Government, with several fortified places to his Royal Highness, and at length the same to the Duke d'*Anguien*. After this Contract, the Queen went to the Parliament, where was perform'd all she desired in so glorious a manner, that nothing could have been added to it; all the Parliament testifying, That they desired nothing so much, as her absolute Authority; they had taken a resolution to pre-

present to her Majesty a kind of Remonstrance, most humbly to beseech her to make use of Men of known Honesty, and to remove from her those that were the causes of the pass'd Tyranny, there was none but the President *Barillon* who said obliquely something about it; but they press'd it no farther, by the advice of the Bishop *de Beauvais*, who told them, That it was fit to let the Queen have the glory to acquit her self of them; the consequence has sufficiently condemn'd his advice, and all People must own, that had the Parliament spoken as they intended, they had Printed so black a Character upon the reputations of those Ministers, that the Queen, it may be, would have been asham'd to have made use of them any more; besides, already of themselves they stood so wavering, that the least wind would have over-whelm'd them.

I know not what assurance the Cardinal could then have of the Queens inclination for him, but if he had, he did not discover it to any one living, telling even his greatest Confidants of his return into *Italy*, as a thing resolv'd on; and appearing to be extreamly offended,

that when they annull'd the Declaration they did not except him, but the Scene of Affairs was presently changed; for about three or four hours after their return from the Palais, the Queen propos'd to him by Monsieur *le Prince*, to establish him by a Breviat in the same place that the Declaration gave him, and to make him besides that, President of her Council: at first he refus'd this Proposition, but afterwards yielded to it, promising to remain in *France* only till such time as the Peace was concluded. You may judge how much we were all surpris'd, who believed him just ready to pass the Mountains; when we came at night to the *Louvre* and heard this good news, I found the Bishop of *Beauvais* in the Queens Closet, and telling him how much I was surpris'd at it, he reply'd, shrugging up his shoulders, That he could answer me as to what was done, but not what would follow: meaning by that, that he knew how that business would go in Parliament, but was ignorant what the Queen would do afterwards. I went away strangely confounded at the weakness of our chief Director, and going the same night to the *Hostel de Vendosme*, the Duke de *Beaufort*

fort told me, That the Bishop of *Beauvais* having modestly complained to the Queen, that she had so far acted without doing him the honor to communicate it to him; she answer'd him, That she found her self necessitated to keep about her one of those who was conversant in the principal Secrets of the State, and she believed no body more proper for this, than Cardinal *Mazarin*, who as he was a Stranger, had neither any private interest or support in *France*; that that ought not to allarum him or the rest of her Servants, who were not in good correspondance with him, since she gave them her promise never to leave them; and as a mark, that though she retain'd the Cardinal, she embraced not his Interests, she abandoned all the rest of his Party. This Discourse gave us new assurance, but after such a stroak we believed we might have always reason to apprehend a change in so close a mind.

Two days after arrived the News of the Victory of *Rocroy*, which wonderfully raised both Monsieur le Prince, and Madam la Princess his Wife; and as their hatred to the House of *Vendosme*

was manifest, the rise of one still seem'd to be a depression of the other : Madam *la* Princess, who was insolent and malicious as she us'd to be when she was in prosperity, one day when I went to wait upon her to divert her, began a Discourse full of Satyr, which nevertheless she ended very obligingly to me, but it was full of reflections upon the Duke *de Beaufort* ; to whom I reply'd the best I could, without giving her offence. This glorious Success made that Family hope, and even with reason, ask many great things, and made the Cardinal unite himself so strictly to them. 'Twas then I began to be sensible that I was deceived, when I hoped to receive any great advantage from the Queens kindness, for only asking her a Company in the Regiment *de Rambures*, for the Brother of a Captain who they thought was kill'd in the Battle, she did me the honor to refuse me ; but I must confess, that five or six days after, she granted me a very great favor, in consenting to the suppression of the Office of the Commissary General of the *Suisse*, though it was done after having made many difficulties in it : The Bishop of *Banvais* was the only Man to whom I at first reveal'd it, and

and afterwards to the Queen, who told me, that she would refer her self to the determination of the Marshal *de Basem-piere*, whom I intreated to be kind to me in it; which he was, and seem'd to rejoyce to have the occasion. When I first bought my Place, I sent to tell him when he was in the *Bastille*, by the Count *de Bethune*, that if I believed not only that he pretended to it himself, but would be the least dis-satisfied to see it in the hands of another, I would think no more of it. He received this Message with the greatest Civility imaginable, and sent back his Nephew *d'Estelau* to tell my Wife, that he was ravished to hear that I had the Place; that he himself would instruct me in my Duty, and be a Father to me: When I saw him in the *Bastille*, he still continued his Caresses, and said also the same thing when he was at liberty; and when he came to Court, after a hundred times embracing me, he said aloud, That if he had yet remaining any Friends amongst the *Suisse*, he would also make them mine: In the business of Commissary-General, he behaved himself with an extream care, and till such time he saw me in disgrace, he still lived well with
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me; but all that will appear in the following Discourse.

And now to begin where I made this Digression, a thing so considerable for my establishment settled without my troubling, the Cardinal gave me reason to believe, that our party was not really so desperate as we thought it; and though the Bishop *de Beauvais*'s capacity was but small, yet there was still something that appeared Great, to see him declared Minister of State, and design'd for a Cardinals Cap, the Queen having written to *Rome* for him; and perceiving also at the same time she promised the Duke *de Vendosme* the Government of *Britany* (which the Great Master had renounced) or an equivalent recompence; but nevertheless, the Cardinal still advanced in her affections, and though that she protested he should never obtain any thing prejudicial to those who had been her approved Servants, she confest, That he had something very taking in his Conversation, and always prais'd him for being dis-interest'd. He on his part, was extraordinary civil to all the People of Quality; and except the House of *Vendosm*, which had openly

ly declared it self against him, visited all the Princes, Dukes and Peers, and the Officers of the Crown; People then began to wonder that we did not begin to think of some way to reconcile our selves to him, but it was impossible ever to see him again with kind looks; for we having broken with him for the Queens Interest, 'twas her part to prescribe how we ought to live together: But besides this publick, there was also a private Interest, which was the good understanding between him and the Chancellor, against whom the whole Family of *Vendosm*, the Bishop of *Mets*, Monsieur de *Montresor*, Monsieur de *Bethune*, Monsieur de *Beaupuy*, and my self, had openly declared, chiefly because of the death of Monsieur de *Thou*; so that we believed we could not see him again with honor, as long as he was joyn'd with a Man that we had so much reason to hate: And to say the truth, it was a thing hard enough to be understood, that the Queen, to whom he had reason to appear more odious than to us, continued him still in his Office: But as she is susceptible of whatsoever impressions are given her, the strong intercessions that was made for him, by little and

little

little diminished her just Resentments of the Injuries he had done her. The first that spoke to her for him, was *Montague*, a Creature that had formerly depended upon Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*, and since gain'd to that Party during his retreat to *Pontoise*, by *Jane* a Carmelite Nun, who was Sister to the Chancellor: Monsieur *de Brienne* seconded him in it, and preferr'd (as he himself said) the Interest of a living acquaintance, before the memory of Monsieur *de Thou*, though he had been his most intimate Friend; but he is accus'd to have chiefly consider'd Twenty thousand Crowns, which they say was given him for his trouble: but that which wholly confirmed him in the place, was the consideration of Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*, who was the only Man whose return the Cardinal fear'd; and seeing that now, in this time of general Indemnity, it would be impossible for him to oppose his liberty, since the chief crime that appear'd against him, was, that he had too much adhered to the Queens Interest: He let no opportunity slip, but took his Measures in the just time, and he was wonderfully assisted by *Madam la Princess*, who in her new-blown
Pride

Pride for the Victory of *Rocroy*, thought all things due to her, and declared publicly, That all the Family of *Condy* would be forced to leave the Court, if the Queen recall'd him to the Council, who presided at the condemnation of *Monsieur de Momerancy* her Brother. There needed no more to turn the Queen from *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf*, who was already so cool in her kindness to him, that she began to say, He was none of hers, but *Madam de Chevreuses* Martyr ; separating thus her own Interests, from the Interest of that Person whom she once so dearly loved, whose return now she much more feared than desired : She would have been content to have let her remain'd still in *Flanders* ; but since the Duke *d'Epernon*, and *Monsieur de Montresor*, were already return'd from *England*, and *Fonetrailles* and *Aubijoux*, who were supported by *Monsieur*, appeared publicly in *Paris* ; and that also *Madam de Senecey* and *Madam de Hauteport*, were not only return'd to Court, but in their places again, and all the rest of the proscribed were daily expected : It would be most unreasonable to leave a Princess any longer in Exile, whom all *Europe* knew to be so, only

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ly for having been most zealous in her Service. If I were asked from whence proceeded so great a change in the Queens mind, I must freely answer, that I impute it to two things: The first is, That when we have extraordinary Obligations to any one, we are apt to dread their presence, as if their sight continually urged an acknowledgement, and condemn'd us of Ingratitude every moment that we delay'd returning them. The other is, That her old love for *Madam de Chevreuse* was worn out by little and little, by her new one; for the Cardinal, which was daily seen to increase, and which in a little time reach'd so far, that her Conversation with him, instead of an hour or two, now lasted all the Evening; so that the poor Bishop of *Beauvais*, who was always used to take that time to entertain her, waited in another Room, and had scarcely time to say Grace to her, or to see her one minute after Supper. But nevertheless, to confirm in some manner what she had said, that she would not favor all the Party, she gave command that *Monfieur de Boutiller* should quit the Finances. The Cardinal had not as yet fix'd his Anchor upon sure ground enough, but that

that he was forced to yield to this stroke; and all he could obtain, was, that it might be done in a favorable manner, the Sur-Intendant himself asking leave to lay it down: it was given between *Mesieurs de Baillet*, and *d'Arnaux*, to hinder the last from being in a capacity to take *Monsieur de Chavigny's* Office, which the Cardinal endeavored himself to fulfil; and the reason why the first was put into that imployment, was to shew, that the Queen now intended to advance her old Servants, and to remove him from all pretensions to the Seal, for the Cardinal intended to keep the Chancellor still in that, knowing that a titular Officer was much fitter to oppose *Monsieur de Chasteaufort*, than to have it in a Commissioners hand, as the Keeper of the Great Seal always is. To these Reasons may be added, one that's yet more unknown, which is, that in putting in these two, the last being obliged to go Plenipotentiary to conclude the general Peace at *Munster*, the Finances would remain wholly in the hands of the first, who by his inability would give way to *Monsieur d'Emery*, the new Controller-General, and faithful Dependiant of the Cardinal, to act with

with full Authority as if he was himself Sur-Intendant. A little after this promotion, the Cardinal believing that he should shew an extraordinary deference to the Queen, by endeavoring to acquire the Friendship of those, whom she had always believed her faithful Servants: He began with the Prince *de Marcillac*, as being the first that the Queen had openly protested to be kind to; he desired his Friendship in the most civil and most pressing terms imaginable, making him be told, That he begged he would wholly abandon him, when he perceived him pursuing any private Interest, either to procure Riches, Offices, or any other Advantage whatever, or had any intention to prejudice any Man of Quality. The Prince *de Marcillac* related to the Queen all that the Cardinal had told him, asking her what she pleas'd to command him upon it; she answer'd, That the greatest pleasure he could ever do her, was to receive him for his Friend; and spoke of him with such an esteem and eagerness, as plainly enough discover'd her Inclination: after which, the Prince *de Marcillac* had nothing more to consult; but however, before he went to see him, he imparted
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all that had pass'd to his particular Friends, and amongst the rest, was so obliging as to tell it me with all the Circumstances: This began to make us look at home, and think of our selves, it hapning at the same time that Monsieur *de Chavigny* (according to his Fathers method) obtained leave to quit his Office, which was given to Monsieur *de Brienne*; and it was talk'd of his being sent either to *Rome*, or into *Germany*, as a Man lost for ever at Court, We believed, that the Cardinal then having no body whom he particularly lov'd in Councel, it would be easie to enter into League with him, and that for our Friendship he perhaps would willingly forsake the Chancellor. Having weigh'd this Design, the Bishop of *Metz* (to whom he had also made Propositions of Friendship) went to the Queen, and after having spoken to her almost in the same manner, as the Prince *de Marcillac*, receiv'd the same answer, with only this addition, That upon the Overtures that the Cardinal had made him, she conjur'd him to gain him as many Friends as was possible; the Bishop of *Metz* having told all his Discourse with the Queen to the Duke *de Ven-*
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dosme, both the Duke and his Children desired, that all their Friends might be informed of every thing that had passed, and for that reason desired the Bishop of Metz, the Duke d'Espèrnon, the Count de Fiesque, Monsieur Beaupuy, and my self, to meet at their House: *Campion*, who was then his menial Servant, was also at that Conference; Monsieur *Bethune*, and Monsieur *Montresor*, having been their oldest and chiefest Friends, ought to have been sent for, but I believe the Duke de Vendosme did not desire them, perhaps for the reason I have already said, of *la Riviere* whom he would preserve his Friend by the mediation of the Mareschal d'Estreé. The Queens command cutting off all occasions of farther differences. The Count de Fiesque took upon him to go, and tell the Cardinal from all the family of Vendosme, the Bp. of Metz, and the D. d'Espèrnon, that they desired his Friendship with all freeness and sincerity, but that they desired to have nothing to do with any body but himself, & for that reason they had not sent to him till such time that they saw Monsieur de Chavigny out of all business, and that the only mark that they asked of his kindness, was the Chancel-
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lors ruine, whom the death of Monsieur *de Thou*, and his manner of proceeding in the business of the Hermits, and the tryal of the Duke *d'Espernon*, had made odious. The Cardinal, after he had assured them that he received the Proposition they had made him with a great deal of Joy, and that he esteemed their Friendship at the highest rate, answered, That he was obliged to them that they did not speak to him of this, whil'st Monsieur *de Chavigny* had any part in the Ministry of Affairs, because he could never have abandon'd him; but for the Chancellor, he was an infamous Man, and that at the Kings death he had renounced him, and consequently cared not for him now; but if he put him out, he was not able to hinder Monsieur *de Chasteauneufs* entring into his place, whom he confess'd he could never endure in the Ministry.

This first Conference ended thus, but it furnished matter for many others, where- in the Count *de Fiesque* told the Cardinal, That the Gentlemen for whom he spoke, desiring to enter into the Bonds of Friendship with him, would not begin to shock him in what appeared so

much his Interest, therefore they only asked of him, that whensoever he could secure himself from Monsieur *de Cha-steauneuf*, he would remove the Chancellor : He made a difficulty to promise that he would remove him, and only said at first, that he would abandon him, but at length he acquiesced : and did the same concerning the Duke *d'Anguien*: for having said, That he desired to live civilly with him, and that he had no design to break off, he received no answer, when the Count *de Fiesque* told him, That those Gentlemen making choice of him for their chief Friend, desired a preference in his mind before all their Competitors. This Treaty lasted five or six days, because on one side the Cardinal shew'd now an ardent desire of their Friendships; and then a little after appear'd cooler in it, speaking with greater reservedness. And on the other side, the Duke *de Beaufort* would have been willing, before they came to a conclusion, to have seen *Campion* return'd, whom he had sent to meet Madam *de Chevreuse*, who was then just come to *France*, and with whom his Father the Duke *d'Espernon*, and himself, were in a most strict League: And

as it was necessary that the Count *de Fiesque* should give them from time to time an account of his Negotiation, and be instructed what they would have him say, we met, during that time, five or six times, either at the Duke *de Vendosm's*, or the Duke *d'Espernons*, or at the Bishop of *Metz*, or at the *Capucins*, or else at my House: And although in all those Meetings there almost nothing pass'd but only to obey the Queen, nevertheless they have since endeavor'd to represent it as a Crime, and the Plottings of a Seditious Cabal, though the Cardinal cannot deny but that the Count *de Fiesque* daily told him whatsoever was resolv'd amongst us. In five or six days *Campion* return'd, who inform'd us, That Madam *de Chevreuse* had receiv'd Letters from the Queen before she left *Flanders*, wherein her Majesty seem'd to desire, that there might be a right understanding between the Cardinal and Her, and that she came prepar'd to do it, and advis'd all those Gentlemen to the same; upon which, they immediatly resolv'd, and went the very next day to visit him, with whom they had then reason to be satisfied, having been received with the greatest Civility that could be

express'd. Perhaps many will wonder, that having always been in the same Interest with those Gentlemen, I was not also comprehended in the Treaty; but the reason was, I did not desire it, for that being in an Office that depended only upon the Queen, I would act in nothing without Her order; which was the answer I made to the Duke *de Beaufort* when he spoke to me of it, and I know not if he said any thing to the Queen concerning it or no: But two or three days after, as I received Orders from her, she told me, I knew that the Duke *de Vendosme*, and his Sons, had seen Cardinal *Mazarin*; I answered her, Yes, but with a tone of voice, and in a particular way of speaking, whereby I endeavored to let her know, that it was my Opinion that that would be no advantage to me; whereupon she continued that she believed him true to her Interest, therefore she desired all those that were so, to live well with him: I answered, That I most humbly beseeched Her Majesty to remember, That I left him only when I concluded him an Enemy to Her Interest: That's true (said she:) And now, Madam, (I reply'd) I am still all Obedience to whatsoever
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your Majesty commands me. Taking my leave thereupon, with design to make him a visit the next day; 'tis true, that before I went any farther, I was willing to see Monsieur *de Bethune*, and Monsieur *de Montresor*, whom I found extremely nettled, that an Agreement had been made without them; and though the Duke *de Beaufort* acquainted them with it before they saw the Cardinal; they believed still that there was more due to their ancient Friendship, than simply to render them an account of what was already resolved of: But they took it most ill of the Duke *de Vendosme*, and particularly Monsieur *de Montresor*, who remembered, that when he left *England* he had promised him his Friendship, giving him also all assurance to serve him towards Monsieur, which he performed so ill, that *la Riviere* was one of the first Men with whom he endeavor'd to engage himself, the remembrance of which was a little hard to him, chiefly at that time; for at his return from *England*, Monsieur pressing him again to live kindly with *la Riviere*, and imploying Monsieur *de Bellegarde* upon that subject, tho without any effect, Monsieur *de Montresor* persisting still in saying, that

he looked upon *la Riviere* as the same Man that Monsieur had formerly painted him, which was a Rogue and a Traytor; His Royal Highness lived with him afterwards in another manner than he had done, using him with the greatest indifference that could be, which made him resolve at length to sell his place, and to retire himself wholly from Court, which he did in a little time after. When I had told them what concerned my self (which they approved, as being an effect of my obedience to Her whom I had wholly dedicated my self to without reserve) after I had been at *Mont-rouge* to acquaint Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf* of it, who was also of the same Opinion, I went to the Cardinal, whom I found just coming down stairs, with some Ladies, going from thence to Council; so that the first time I could not have much Discourse with him, but what he did say to me was very civil and obliging, so far as to make an excuse that he could not go up stairs again to entertain me: The next day I went again, and finding him in his Chamber with very few People with him, I made him a Complement whereof he has since very much complain'd, and

and declar'd, That I told him that I only came to see him by the Queens order, though my words signified quite another thing: I know, that when the Prince *de Macellac* went to see him, that the Queen had spoken to him concerning him, I believed she might have done the for me; therefore after having assured him of my respect and service, I told him I hoped that he would do me the honor easily to believe what I protested to him, since he knew that for a long time I had profest being his most obedient Servant, but that if any thing could be added to the Inclination I had always to do him honor, it would be without doubt, the Trust and the Esteem the Queen shew'd him, which would oblige all those who were wholly hers, and particularly my self, to respect him yet more: I also beseeched him to think, that whensoever the Queen should command me any thing relating to that, I would not only execute it with that blind Obedience I ow to all her Orders, but also with extream Joy and Satisfaction: I leave it to be judged, if this Discourse can reasonably receive that sense which he gave it; and if this be a just foundation for those Mischiefs that
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he has since done me, and began the very next day : for the Mareſchal *de Baſſompierre* going to ſee him, he ſpoke to him of me in ſuch a manner, as ſhew'd plain enough he had no great love for me, and endeavored to put it into his mind to re-enter into his Office, which the Mareſchal let me know the very next day, by two or three people. This News ſurprized me a little, and deſiring to know the bottom of it, I went to *Monſieur Liancour*, and deſired him to ſpeak to him for me, which he did immediately, with that goodneſs which he hath always ſhewn in my Concerns ; and having only told him, that he had been inform'd that he was diſſatisfied with me, He made as if he knew nothing of it, and without diſcovering any diſpleaſure at me, ſaid, That after I had a long time left off viſiting him, I came again and told him, That it was by the Queens Order, but now he aſſur'd him, that if I would be his Friend, he would be mine ; *Monſieur de Liancour* having answer'd, That he might confide in me, put an end to the Diſcourſe ; and having afterwards given me a relation of it, I believed that this little diſſatisfaction was paſt, and that I might be good Friends with him again.

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During this, Madam *de Chevreuse* was arriv'd, and went down directly to the *Lowre*; but if the Queen was impatient to see her, she was much more so to send her to *Dampierre*; for immediatly after the first Salutations were pass'd, she told Her, That the Allies of *France* might grow jealous, if immediatly after her return from *Flanders*, they knew that she was near Her, and that for this reason she must take a short Journey into the Country. Madam *de Chevreuse*, for all she was surpris'd, answered her without any concern, That she was ready to obey her, but beseeched her to consider, That all *Europe* knew she had been persecuted for her extraordinary love to Her Majesty; and that it might perhaps reflect upon her self if she sent her away so suddenly, and desired that she would be pleased to ask the Cardinals advice in it, who being in the Closet, and sent for in, told the Queen, That Madam *de Chevreuse* had reason, and that her Majesty would be too blame if she should use her so. Thus Madam *de Chevreuse* fenc'd off this first assault, which might well have let her see, That she had not that power in the Queens Breast, she once had: but if she perceiv'd it, she hid it at least from her most intimate Friends,

Friends , and imparted this Adventure to no Body till a long time after : In this, following the humor of all those that pretend to favor who will never discover that they are declining in their Princess affection. Nevertheless, the Cardinal did not think her intirely ruin'd, nor absolutely useless to his Advancement, for the next day he went to visit her, and for the first Complement told her, That he knew that the Assignations of the Exchequer came slowly, and that she having been so long a Journey, might perhaps want mony, therefore he came to offer and bring her Fifty thousand Crowns; but because he knew also that an Ambitious Soul, like hers, would not be so much moved with these fair Offers as with Actions, he asked her a few days after, What he might do to gain her Friendship, protesting, That he would spare nothing that might procure it. She presently put him upon a fair Tryal, asking him two things of very great Importance: One, that the Duke *de Vendosme* might be satisfied for his pretentions to the Government of *Bretagne*, for which he had as yet nothing but fair Words: And the other, That the Duke *d'Espernon* might be restored

to his Place and Government. He proceeded in both these very obligingly: For as to the first, Monsieur *de Brienne* had immediately a Commission to treat with the Duke *de Vendôme*, and in the Queens name to promise him the Admiralty, which they sent to the Duke *de Brezé* to give a Resignation of: And as to the second, the Duke *d'Espèrnon* was immediately after restored to his Honors, and neither pains nor cost was spared to draw the Count *d'Harcourt* from *Guienne*. After these two first Affairs, she put him to a third, to which he would scarce consent, yet did at last, though it took no effect; it was to procure the Prince *de Marcillac* the Government of *Havre*: To this he Remonstrated to her, how much he ow'd to the Memory of the deceased Cardinal, and that it would be unjust in him to become an Instrument of injuring his Heirs: But she still insisting upon it, he at last yielded. After such great Tryals, she thought nothing would be impossible for her with him, and at last propos'd to him the Re-establishment of Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*: but this being his most sensible and nearest concern, he could not dissemble, and flatly reply'd to her,

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That he would never give his consent to it, and from that moment broke off with her, excepting some few Civilities which since pass'd, there was never after any sincere Intelligence or Friendship betwixt them. Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf* had now been a long time at *Montrouge*, having arrived there at the same time that Madam *de Chevreuse* came to *Paris*: and it may be, if he had immediatly come to the Court without capitulating with the Queen, he might have engag'd her by this freedom not to have abandon'd him, whereas because he follow'd the example of Madam *de Senécey*, who would not enter into *Paris* till she was re-establish'd in her Place, he gave the Queen time to accustom her self to know that he was near *Paris*, without desiring his presence, and consider'd not that Madam *de Senécey* had only a Person whom the Queen had no affection for to oppose her, whereas he (besides the whole Family of Monsieur *le Prince* who were against his return) gave the chief Minister reason to be jealous, and could not gain but by Address, and by little and little, what that Honorable Lady did at the first step: But without doubt, he was deceiv'd by the belief that
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the Queen had a mighty Inclination for him; and 'twas by this also that the Bishop de *Beauvais* lost himself insensibly, and that, after having possessed the first Place, and been nominated for a Cardinalship, a private Countermarch was sent to *Rome*, and he left in the Anti-Chamber, whil'st the Queen quietly entertain'd the Cardinal, whose Wit she did not much esteem at first, and said, That he was not a Man knowing in Business, since he understood not the Regale, nor the Finances, qualifications indeed very necessary in a great Minister. Thus all our Affairs began to decline, and as to what concerns me, Monsieur de *Tellier*, following the steps of Monsieur de *Noyers* his Predecessor, from that time began to thwart me in my Charge, and desiring to appropriate to himself the Authority of appointing Commissaries for Mustering of the *Suisses*, designed to take from me by little and little, what the Queen had given me in gross by suppressing the charge of the Isle: Yet at first, he took a method which gave me occasion to think that his Design was rather against the Marshals of *France*, than against me; and by the Civilities he did me, kept me for some
time

time under this mistake; but at last, when I saw that all these fine words came to nothing, and that they did but defer to resolve upon what I asked from day to day, I perceiv'd that these shifting tricks came from another Principle, and that the Cardinal had as great a hand in them, as in delaying to conclude Monsieur de Vendosme's business, wherein they every day rais'd a thousand Obstacles to hinder the Execution of what was promis'd him: 'Tis true, he himself contributed much to his own unhappiness, for he made a difficulty of taking the Admiralty without the Anchorage, and considered not that he should have enter'd upon the Office at any rate, it being easie for him afterwards to extend his Rights: In the mean time, his unsteady and confus'd way of carrying on his business, gave opportunity enough to do him ill turns. Sometimes he address'd himself to the Cardinal, and declared, That he would owe to him the Obligation of what they did for him; in a moment after, he sought an opportunity of getting Marshal d'Estrées to speak to la Riviere, and conjure him to make his Affair succeed; and after that, attempted by oblique ways to engage Monsieur le

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Prince to serve him. In fine, there did not an hour pass over his head wherein he did not more then once change his Opinion and Party: Nor did he only change from this side to the other, but would have also plaid the same tricks with Monsieur de Beaufort, who for his part having particular Designs, and intermixing his most important Affairs with trifles, lived in so fantastical a manner with the Cardinal, that it was impossible for him to repose any assurance in him; not that I believe he ever harbored in his Breast any such Designs as were laid to his charge; only his entertainments of the Cardinal were either full of coldness, or civility, according to the humors of those Ladies, Madam de Chevreuse, and Madam de Montbazon, insomuch that if he gave him occasion to be satisfied with him one day, he disoblig'd him as much the next, saying, That he only came to see him by his Fathers order. If in the condition he is in, I had a mind to complain of him, I should have some reason to do so, it being very true that at this time, though he did me the honor to dine at my House often, and pass the greatest part of the Afternoons with me, yet he imparted to me very

little of his Conduct: And I dare say, (though I am not the greatest Politician in the Kingdom) that if he would have opened himself more freely to me, he had never been embarrass'd in that unlucky and shameful Intrigue of *Madam de Longueville's* Letters, which hapned about this time, and into which his Love for *Madam de Montbazon* hurried him, without considering the bottom of the thing, and imputing the Malice to those who could not possibly be guilty.

I can say further, That to take this Affair right, nothing at all of it is to be believed, I never enquir'd into the thing to get more knowledge of it: But if *Monsieur de Beaufort* had spoke to me of it at the beginning, I would have advised him without examining the falshood or truth thereof, to have given the Letters into *Madam de Longueville's* hands; and I think that this service done to a person who was once passionately belov'd; and who is even yet as much hated, is a very sensible reproach, and the most honest and glorious Revenge that could be taken. But he suffer'd himself to be carried away with another's Passion, and by the breaking out of this cursed Quarrel,

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absolutely threw himself upon a Precipice. From that time there was little familiarity betwixt Monsieur d'Anglen and him; and besides the remembrance of what pass'd in the Quarrel of the *Grand-Maître*, and the report that this Prince had ask'd to have his Brother-in-law, the Duke de Brezé, protected in his charge, he gave an answer to a Letter (which Monsieur de Beaufort wrote to him upon the Birth of his Son) wherein he treated him rudely, and in a kind of revenge, which his little Pride prompted him to, only subscrib'd himself, *Your most humble, and affectionate Servant*. But though these little peeks betwixt two such haughty and ambitious Minds, were enough to carry them to extreams, yet they might have been qualify'd with some moderation; whereas after an Affair, which directly wounded their Honor, there was no way left for a Reconciliation. I confess, I speak not upon this subject with a cold heart, and that of all that has pass'd since the Kings Death, this is the only thing I look back upon with regret, and would say with some sort of Repentance, if I did not find an infinite number of Reasons that forced me to take that side which I did.

Those which ought to have dissuaded me, were first of all Interest; almost all my Estate lay in *le Berry*, and under the Government of Monsieur *le Prince*. I saw the Duke *de Anguien* likely to return to Court within a little while, having augmented the glory of his Victory at *Rocroy*, by the taking of *Thienville*, which was judged impregnable; and that after such Services, it was hard to believe that the Queen would favor any other Party than his. The Duke *de Longueville* had always dealt very obligingly with me, and there were few that he spoke to with more confidence. In fine, it was to be observ'd, that I had the honor to be nearly related to Madam *la Princesse*, whom I should mortally offend, if I offer'd my Service to Madam *de Montbazon*, my relation to whom was further off, and less Honorable: But also very strong considerations invited me to the other side, almost all my Friends were embark'd in it, and above all Monsieur *de Guise*, who caress'd me extraordinarily at his return into *France*, and seem'd to choose me for his principal Friend: I had the Honor to be nearer him than any of his Quality; I had all along dearly loved and very much honor'd him, and

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was the first Author of the strait Union betwixt Monsieur de Beaufort and him which seemed to be one of the principal causes that put him upon this Intrigue: I believ'd, that the Womens Quarrel would certainly breed one among'st the Men, and resolved not to embrace one Party to acquit it again the next day. But to speak freely, the most essential reason that made me declare, was, That I knew, whatever Caresses the Cardinal made me, he had no kindness at all for me, and thought that I must of necessity get some other support near the Queen. I knew very well, if I should hope for one in Monsieur le Prince, that he would not displease the first Minister for me, if in Monsieur, la Riviere, the mortal Enemy of my Friends, was an invincible Obstacle; so that I saw none but Madam de Chevreuse, who hiding her Disgrace the best that she could, and continuing her ancient familiarity with the Queen, seem'd to me to be yet in a condition to protect me. Being joyn'd in Interest with her common Friends, I had in a little time gain'd a great deal of Freedom, and receiv'd from her Assurances to serve me upon all occasions: But I had a mind to oblige her to it with something more extraordi-

nary, knowing well, That she being Vain and Ambitious, would be touch'd therewith, and told her, That 'twas she I had chiefly respect to, when I rank'd my self on *Madam de Montbazon's* Party; which she receiv'd as well as I could wish, and promis'd me all the assistance imaginable.

I will say nothing of all that afterwards pass'd in this Affair, because it was so publick that no body can be ignorant of it, only, that if the Opinion of *Monsieur de Longueville* had been followed, it had stifled all. But *Madam la Princesse* following the heat of her Natural Temper, and finding an opportunity of satisfying her old Animosities, carried it to the utmost extremity, to which I know not whether she was push'd on by the Cardinal, who look'd upon our Party as form'd against him, and thought it not so much design'd against *Monsieur le Prince*, as against his Authority, which increased every day. At the *Hotel de Madam de Chevreuse* there was a meeting of fourteen Princes, at which I was not present, and would have been sorry to have been so, thinking it very useless and impertinent. Two days after, the *Amende Honorable* which *Madam de Mont-*

Moutbazon, was to undergo at the *Hôtel de Condé*; the Queen being in the Circle, call'd me to her, and said, That she believed I did not know that the Officers of the Kings House should strike in with no party in the Quarrels at Court, because they ought to stay for her Orders: I answer'd, That I did not know it, but that whatever Party I should take, it could not prejudice the Obedience I would always pay to Her Commands. She reply'd, That this by rendering me suspected by one of the Parties, would make me incapable of following her Orders; and ending her Discourse, signified unto me, That I should once more stand Neuter. The day following I was to see the Cardinal, who having received me with an appearance of more freedom then before, told me, That the Queen had acquainted him with what She had said to me, and having inform'd my self what might be alledg'd thereupon, I answered, That since the Queen disapprov'd my Action, I for ever stood corrected; but if I had fail'd in my duty, my fault was not without president, and upon this instanced in the late Duke *d'Effernon*, in the Quarrel betwixt Monsieur le Count and Monsieur

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de Guise. He told me, That the Queen had great reason to desire it should not be so any more, and advised me, as my Friend, punctually to obey her Majesty. After this I made him two or three Visits, wherein he treated me so kindly, that I believed he would not be unwilling to oblige me in my Concerns, since he was pleased to serve one of my Kinsmen upon my recommendation, therefore I spoke to him of the difference betwixt Monsieur *le Tellier* and my self; and in a Memoir which I gave him, explained the thing to him very clearly; adding when I left him, That it was the most important Affair he could oblige me in. His Answers were civil and affectionate, but the next time I spoke to him of it, I found him much more cold, and he made me a long Discourse, to shew me, That what I ask'd of him was much against the Kings Service, and concluded with telling me, That as to my own Interest I must be satisfied, and not attempt to preserve a right which had too great a Consequence: I reply'd, That my Predecessors in the Office had enjoy'd it, and as for my self, all those who knew me, knew that Riches and Interest influenc'd me very little, and that

that Honor alone was that which actuated me, and which I sought for in the Affair wherewith I entertain'd him. I question whether this so frank a Declaration of my Humor pleas'd him, but I know that he left me without giving me any great hopes. On this or the day following, happen'd the last stroak of Madam *de Monbazon's* disgrace at *Renard*, I came not thither till the Queen was coming out, and was extreemly surpris'd and troubled at the disorder. Monsieur *de Mets* is witness of what I said to Madam *de Monbazon*, and how much I blam'd her for having made the Affair of Madam *la Princess* become the Queens. In the meantime, the Queen the day after did me the Honor to reckon me amongst the Councillors of this Fair disgraced, and declared, That what she spoke before Madam *la Princess* against those who advis'd her to stay in *Renards* Lodgings, were particularly address'd to me. I was immediately advertis'd of it, but knowing myself to be entirely Innocent, I thought that I ought not to make Excuses, and believ'd I could not come to a clear understanding, without speaking in some sort against the exil'd, which was contrary

y to my humor. In the mean time I perceiv'd that my Affair was protracted for one of these two ends, either to make me swerve from my Duty, or do some foolish Action, or at least to make the *Swisses* grow impatient by the delay, and discredit me with them : So that I thought I ought speedily to see an end of it, and went to *Madam de Chevreuse*, whom I acquainted how things stood : I came not to desire her to speak for me, knowing well, that she had her hands full of more important Concerns, but only to tell her, That I must be pressing and urgent in the business, and that before I did it, I was willing to give her an account thereof : She called *Campion* to make a third in our Conference, and answer'd me, That if I could but have patience for eight days, she believed in that time she could do my business effectually ; but since I could not defer it, that I must seek a support elsewhere, and only continue to be still her Friend. I believe this Discourse went no further than us three ; but I know very well, that when I went the day following to speak with the Cardinal, he shew'd very little inclination to favor me, and after many Difficulties (though I assur'd him I desir'd

to

to owe the Obligation to him) he told me, That he was not the only one in the Council, and that I must speak to others: by this I judg'd that my Affair was lost: but finding no other way to come off, and seeing that Monsieur *Tellier* had obtained a Grant of what he desired against me, I was resolv'd to speak to his Royal Highness, and to the rest of the Council; but during this time, the procedure of my Friends ruin'd all as fast as I could build. The Duke *de Beauford*, either out of Love or Pride, shew'd himself infinitely vex'd at the Exile of *Madam de Montbazon*; and when the Queen would have spoke to him, he flung away in such a disdainful manner, that this alone was enough to have destroyed all the Friendship she could have had for him: I perceiv'd it one Evening, and reproach'd him for acting so like a Child, but instead of returning me Reasons, he answer'd me only with very imprudent transports of Passion and Fury. As he had less business than ordinary, he came very often to seek for me; and though I saw him in an ill posture, yet out of Friendship and Honor, I would not quite forsake him: 'Tis true, I saw him not so frequently in the Evening, and I question

question whether he staid at Night in *Paris*. Monsieur de Vendosme, seeing that he could not finish his concern, importun'd him every day to reconcile himself to the Cardinal, but not being able to prevail with him in this, he thought he must of necessity strike in with *la Riviere*. Therefore he press'd him more than ever by Marshal d'Estres, and offer'd him the Friendship of Monsieur de Beaufort. *La Riviere* listen'd to this proposition with a great deal of joy, and having appointed a Meeting at the same Marshal d'Estrees, he was surprized to see there only Monsieur de Mercœur his Father, and none of Monsieur de Beaufort; from that time he look'd upon him as one that was not to be trusted, and tho Monsieur de Vendosme assur'd him, that he would bring his Son to him as soon as might be, and alledg'd to him some obstacle which hinder'd him from coming, yet he would not enter upon the subject; and having civilly taken his leave, the next day reconciled himself to the Cardinal, betwixt whom till that time there was not a good understanding. Monsieur le Prince made a third in this Association, the first Article whereof, (I believe) was the ruine of

of Monsieur *de Beaufort*. And, *de facto*, two days after, when the Queen went to the *Bois de Vincennes* to an entertainment at Monsieur *de Chavigny's*, he was there, and found but an ill reception. I know not whether this piqu'd him; but he presently came back to *Paris*, and going to the *Louvre* to wait Her Majesties return, found the Cardinal there, whom (as 'twas said) he ask'd some Questions, whether he was going out or no, which allarm'd him. Soon after he had notice given him, that there were some Horsemen upon the *Quay*, who seem'd to wait there for something; after this, he no longer doubted, but that they intended to Assassinate him; he cry'd out of it highly, and sent to seek for all the stout Men he could get to Guard him. Monsieur *de Metz* told me this news the day after, and going to *Luxemburg*, I found Monsieur *de Guise* there, whom I apprehended to have seen embroyl'd in this mischievous disorder, but I found that he knew nothing of it. We both of us waited the return of Monsieur, who spoke very moderately of the thing; but *la Riviere* aggravated it highly, and said, that it belong'd to his Royal Highnesses Authority to preserve the Ministers
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in safety. I would fain have seen Monsieur *de Beaufort*, but he was gone into the Country to see his Father, and return'd not before Night, which compleated his ruine: for it may be, if he had gon to the Cardinal, he might have cleared himself, and so have prevented his Arrest. He was advised to go away to *Anet* for some days, but he confided so much in the Queens favor to him, that he would needs come straight to the *Louvre*. As to my self, I went to the Cardinals after dinner, to assure him of my service, and offer'd to bring a File of *Swisses* to accompany him: He receiv'd me very civilly (though he refused my offer) pretending to believe that the report was false, though I saw in him the Face and Countenance of a Man very much astonish'd. In the Evening as I was going into the *Louvre*, I heard the news of the Duke *de Beaufort's* being taken, the knowledge I had of my Innocence, made me go up stairs without doubting any thing. In the Queens Guard-Chamber I found the Cardinal, who was going out accompanied with three hundred Gentlemen; he saluted me very civilly, but of all his Train only *Noailles*, *Piennes*, and *Megrin*, would know or accost

cost me. In the Queens little Cabinet I met with Madam *de Chevreuse*, whom I entertain'd a pretty while; and having often ask'd if I could not see this poor Prince, and being told by *Guiteau* himself that I could not. I was going away, when the Queen sent for me into her little Chamber, and commanded me to bring two Companies of *Swisses* by six of the Clock the next Morning before the *Louvre*: That Night I could not see any of the *Hôtel de Vendosme*, but the day after I went thither to mix my Sighs with those of this afflicted House, and heard by the Duke *de Vendosme* (to whom Monsieur had imparted something of it) a confirmation of what Monsieur *de Guise* had told me the Night before, that I was of the number of those that were to be removed from Court. This Report did not trouble me much, and I know not by what Presage of my unhappiness, I wish'd my Banishment more than I fear'd it. From thence I went to hear the News at Monsieur *de Bethune* and *Montresor's* House, who were threatened with the same accident, and an hour after received the Command in my presence: It was not because they were in so strict a League at that time with Monsieur

sieur

sieur *de Beaufort* that they did share in his disgrace, but because *la Riviere* would never promise the Cardinal to make his Master consent to the Arresting of this poor Prince, unless he would assure him at the same time to banish his two Enemies; and I believe Monsieur himself contributed thereto on his own accord, being inveterately incensed against Monsieur *de Montresor*, because he had quitted him: and not forgetting also, that all he could say himself, or caused to be said in his name to the Count *de Beshune* the Winter before, to reconcile him to *la Riviere*, was to no purpose, and that he was forc'd to procure the express command of the King to effect it. The same day they order'd Monsieur *de Chasteauneuf*, *de Mont Ronge*, to leave the Court, and *St. Ibar* also had Orders to retire. This was the reward for the Services *Beringhen* did the Cardinal, who deliver'd him from a Man who spoke of him every where with the greatest contempt imaginable. For my part, I believed the number of the proscribed would encrease every day: but in fine, after Dinner some came to assure me, that I had been certainly Shipwrack'd, if the protection of Monsieur had not preserv'd me.

me. I could scarce comprehend, that he whom I had never serv'd, should shield me from such misfortunes, which She, to whom I had so faithfully devoted my self, had prepared for me. Notwithstanding, this News being confirm'd to me in three or four places, and also in the *Hôtel de Guise*, I thought my self oblig'd to go and thank him. That Evening I being at the *Louvre*, the Queen would not look upon me, which I did not wonder at, since my best Friends were so lately disgrac'd: But I was very much surprized, when the next day, after I had been to take my leave of Monsieur *de Vendosme* (whom they had commanded away, though very sick) I went to *Luxembourg*, and having made his Royal Highness the Complement I ow'd him for the good office, 'twas said, he did me, I receiv'd a very cold Answer, which almost contain'd a disavowal of what it was publickly talk'd he had undertaken in my favor. I begun from that day to do the office of my Charge as I us'd to do; and the next day, in vain, endeavored to see the Cardinal who had taken Physick: I came again the day after, and found a very cold reception, he never spake to me but as to

a third Person, and as if he had address'd himself to all the company as well as to me. I made this first Visit very short, and going again thither twice or thrice the Week following, he made me very grave bows, but gave me not a word: By this I judg'd my Affairs in a very ill condition, but I no longer doubted that they were intirely ruin'd, when I heard that Monsieur had in the Cardinals presence derided the thanks I gave him, and declared publickly, That he had deny'd he ever did me that service. I owe this Advertisement to the Duke de Longueville, who for all the pass'd differences did me the honor to continue my Friend, and offer'd to serve me after the Duke de Beaufort was taken. I made no question but *la Riviere* help'd in this Encounter, and desired Monsieur de Brienne (whom I acquainted with the whole thing) to tell it to the Queen, and testifie to her, That my Complement was not to seek any other protection than Hers, and conjur'd him to enter a little further into the matter, if he found it convenient; which he did, and was answered by her Majesty, That she thought me too much a Man of Honor, to have intermedled in the Conspiracy which
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was imputed to the Duke *de Beaufort*; but withal, that I had been a little imprudent in my Conduct. Finding not much displeasure in this Answer, I believed that if I spoke to Her my self, she would, it may be, open her mind more freely, therefore I took an opportunity, at a time which she appointed, and having again confirm'd what Monsieur *de Brienne* had spoken as from me, she only told me coldly, that she believed it, and went her way. I was advised to be diligent in seeing her every hour, which I did with all the assiduity possible; and at the same time Monsieur *de Liancourt* being come to *Paris*, I desired him to tell the Cardinal, That I resented the Captivity of the Duke *de Beaufort* with infinite sorrow; that it was without murmuring, and without losing the respect I ow'd him, and desired him to look upon me as a Man that was careful of his Office, and nothing more: His Answer was, That I had refused to be his Friend, and that all he could do in generosity, was not to do me any hurt. In the interim, I observ'd that Marshal *de Bassompierre* (who till then testified to me a great deal of Friendship, and came to dine with me but eight days before)

avoided me, and never spoke to me but in fear. One Evening, in the Queens little Closet he gave me warning to look to my self, and told me of the disgrace of Bishop *de Beauvais*, with whom they made Monsieur le Prince quarrel without any occasion, that they might have a pretence to remove him: He told me it in general and in a few words, afterwards he withdrew, and would not speak to me any more, as if he feared lest some body should see us converse together. One day after this, meeting with one of my Friends, he began to blame my Conduct, and amongst other things to accuse me for seeing Madam *de Cheverense* so often. 'Tis true, that having call'd my self her Servant before her fall, I did not avoid seeing her, when the unhappiness of the Duke *de Beaufort* advanc'd hers; and going very often (as I said) to the *Louvre*, which was near her Lodgings, I went thither to wait till the Queen had done Prayers, and till Supper-time; but my Visits were not particular, and Monsieur *de Guise* and *de Rets*, with twenty other, went thither at the same time. I was also one of the first that advised her to endeavor her reconciliation with the Cardinal,

dinal, and confirm'd her in the Design of employing Monsieur de Liancour to that end, who serv'd her in it with a great deal of Zeal, but without any Fruit: the Cardinal complaining that she had broke her word with him, and saying, That she knew very well what was agreed upon betwixt the Queen and her; we know not what it was, because she conceal'd her disgrace to the last: But in fine, we heard the very Evening that the Duke de Beaufort was taken into Custody, she offer'd to do, without repugnancy, whatsoever the Queen would command her: Her Majesty told her, That she believed her innocent of the Prisoners Designs, yet she thought it convenient, that she should without any noise retire to *Dampiere*, and after having stay'd there awhile, go into *Touraine*. After this Evening she was never but once at the *Louvre*, and had not staid so long at *Paris*, if she had not thought to have gotten some Money (which was promis'd her) before her departure.

Every day there came Emissaries from the Queen and the Cardinal to solicit her to go; and amongst others, *Montague* being come one day to speak to

her, she ask'd him if it was true, that they intended to remove a great many more, and appear'd most curious to know if they would take my Place from me, declaring, That she was extreemly sorry for me, and shar'd in my unhappiness. This question being reported to the Cardinal, was the last stroak of my ruine, and from the very next day the Queen told Marshal *de Basompierre*, that she would give him the Place, which he at first refus'd, as I am told.

This report being spread about the City, came to my ears, and made me desire Monsieur *de Liancour* to try the Cardinal once more : He told me, that without my sollicitation, he had spoke to him of me very often, and had receiv'd no satisfaction, so that he judg'd it necessary to have some other to help him to begin this Discourse again. The Commander of *Souvre* promis'd to do me this office, and both of them having taken their opportunity in the Evening, found him so very angry that he would scarce hear them, though he still assur'd them that he would do me no hurt. This last Essay being ineffective, I thought I was to apprehend the worst, and from thence
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took my Resolutions. My Wife being at this time come to *Paris*, went to visit Madam *la Princesse*; with whom, by the means of Devotion, she had contracted an intimate familiarity. She had a great deal of talk with her, wherein she declaim'd hotly against me; though at the end of her Discourse she seem'd desirous to see me.

After this, she carried my Wife with her to the *Carmelites*, where she and Madam *d'Aiguillon* presented her to the Queen, and endeavored to reconcile her to me; but they found her too obstinately resolved on my ruine, and already (as she said) engaged upon her word to Marthal *de Basompierre*. Madam *d'Aiguillon* carried her in the Evening to the Cardinal, who told her the same thing, and assured her, if she had come but three Weeks sooner, I might have been saved.

When I thus saw that all the World was bent against me, I resolved not to see the Queen, for fear of receiving a command from her own Mouth, and being reduced to refuse her to her face; and meeting with St. *Luc*, who assur'd me
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from his Uncle, that he would not contribute to my misfortune, nor desire my Place: I told him that I only desir'd, that he would not take it without my resignation, and he assur'd me that he would not.

The day following I was to visit *Madam la Princess*, who was at first in a violent Passion against me; I suffer'd her to say what she would; and being unwilling to justify my procedure, because I would not altogether offend or condemn her (for that had seem'd immodest in me) I laid all that was pass'd upon my ill Stars, and unavoidable occurrences. She often reflected upon poor *Monsieur de Beaufort*, to which I answered with as much modesty and fidelity as I could, and left her in appearance very much appeas'd: Indeed, (tho she took it ill that I did not beg her assistance) she promis'd my Wife to hinder my ruine, and bid her desire me to be at her House the day following, when her Son came thither. I pass'd the rest of the day in expectation of a Command; and the Morning after being informed that *Marshal de Bassompierre* seem'd to think it strange, that for so many

many Civilities which he had done me, I should not pay him one, I went to his House, where he repeated to me the same assurances which St. *Luc* had before given me in his behalf, and for a remedy against my prepared Persecution, advis'd me not to resign, which advice I promis'd him to follow. After Dinner I waited for the arrival of Monsieur d'*Anguien*, to whom his Mother presented me, and was very well receiv'd by him: His Father, whom I saw immediately after, reproach'd me a little, but without Passion, and assur'd me, that he would do me no hurt. When I saw this Family no more displeas'd at me, and on the contrary, that Madam *la Princesse* had said that day, That she would take care of my Affair as of her own, I still entertained some hopes, founded chiefly upon the great Reputation of Marshal *de Bassompierre*, whom I believed too generous to contribute to my ruine, after what he had promis'd me, and the request he had made to the Duke *de Longueville*, to assure Madam *la Princesse*, That she was so far from disobliging him in doing me service, that he took it as a favor, pretending that he would by no means turn me out. In the interim,
because

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because I had not been at the *Louvre* for two or three days, I thought it convenient to let the Queen know, that after the report which was spread abroad, I durst not out of respect present my self before her to do my Office, though I believ'd her too just, and knew my self too innocent to apprehend her disgracing of me. I desired Monsieur de *Brienne* to do me this favor, and to visit the Cardinal also, to tell him, That whatsoever was reported, I could not believe my unhappiness, knowing well that I had never been deficient in the Fidelity was due to her Majesty, nor in the respect which I ow'd to his Eminence. I had an Answer to the last Point the same day, and heard that the Cardinal did not shew any hatred against me, but spoke as if there were yet left some hopes of a Reconciliation: But as to the first, Monsieur de *Brienne* coming to see me the next Morning, told me, That as he began to speak of me to the Queen, she prevented him, and said, That knowing him to be my Friend, she chose him rather than Monsieur *Tellier* (with whom she had heard I was at difference) to bring me an Order to send her a resignation of my Charge,
and

and gave him no other reason for this Command, than that she would do Justice to *Marthal de Bassompierre*: My answer was, That I thought my self the most unhappy Man in the World to have displeased the Queen, and that my Comfort was, that my Conscience did not reproach me with having offended her either in great or little things; that as to my Charge, she was the absolute Mistress thereof, and might dispose of it; but I humbly beseech'd her, she would be pleased not to make me contribute to my own Misfortune: That having taken it eight Months before in the sight of all *France* by Her Command, it would look as if I thought my self guilty of some great Crime, if I should so soon consent to lay it down: and in fine, that for the little Services which I had endeavor'd to do her, I begg'd no other favor of her, than a permission to retire to my own House, there to lament my Misfortune, and wait for a time more favorable to my Innocence, which I hoped to see one of these Days, because I believed her Majesty just, and was sure that God was so.

Monseigneur

Monsieur *de Brienne* seeing he could not absolutely disapprove of my resolution, said only, That if I would take another, some advantages (besides a full recompence for my charge) might be procured for me, as Breviates for a Knight of the Order of the *Holy Ghost*; a Marshal *de Camp*; a Pension of Two thousand Crowns; and assurance of the first Office that fell: I slighted all these frivolous Favors, and left him, after I had desired him to carry my Answer exactly to the Queen. An hour after my Wife told me, that Madam *Le Prince* had excus'd her self to her for the assistance she promis'd to give me upon the consideration of Marshal *de Bassompierre*, which she desired of him as she said (though the other deny'd it.) Thinking it not convenient to stay at my own House after my Answer, I retired to one of my Friends, and in the Evening was told by a Person of great Quality that when he was at the *Louvre*, he saw a buslle amongst the Queens Guards, and heard it for certain, that there was an Order to Arrest me, If I had followed my own Opinion, I should

should have staid in *Paris* to have seen how far they would have extended their Injustice: But my Friends not approving it, I went into the Country the next Morning. Soon after, I heard that the Queen, Monsieur, Monsieur le Prince, and the Cardinal, or rather in a word all those in Power, were cruelly bent against me; and that Marshal *de Bassompierre* began to change his first Discourse, and to say, that having so much right to the Charge, he could not refuse it, if it must be that I must lose it, and the Queen throw it upon him, but that he would never enter upon it till I should be entirely satisfied. Against so great a Storm, I found few or no Friends, Monsieur *de Liancourt* (who alone appeared for me with Vigor and Generosity) was in the Country, almost all the rest abandon'd me by little and little; and those who remain'd, were either involv'd in the same misfortune with my self, or too weak to assist me. Of the first, some, as Monsieur *de Brienne* in particular, proposed to me the advantages in submitting, and Persecution if I resisted: Others, even of the most qualified, either out of complaisance to those in Power,

or

or put upon it by my Enemies, wrote me Letters to intimidate me, and would have made me apprehend, That I should be treated as a Rebel, and as such have my Goods confiscated, and my Houses razed. In fine, within a few days I receiv'd an hundred different Advices, which shak'd me not at all; at the Months end, when they saw me still in the same mind, the Queen issu'd out a Declaration, by which the King publish'd, that the Resignation of Marshal *de Bassompierre* was null (as being made while he was in Prison, and upon a promise of being set at Liberty, which was not perform'd) and by consequence, all the Provisions made to the Marquess *de Coiffin* and my self, were void: This restor'd the Marshal to his Charge without the necessity of taking a new Oath, upon condition that he paid me, within fifteen days, the four hundred thousand Livers, which he had receiv'd in recompence thereof, or consign'd this Sum to the Exchequer, in case that I would not give a Power to receive it. This Declaration drawn up by the Chancellor, and written with his own hand, left me to seek for the Twenty two thousand
Crowns

Crowns which I gave over and above; nevertheless, fearing lest I should recover them against him (with whom I had treated as a Tutor to *Coiffin's* grandsons) he took the Kings Breviate for the like Sum, to pay it to me. I heard this News (which mov'd me not at all) with another report that touch'd me much more, which was a Discourse, which *Madam de Brienne* would have made my Wife believe she had had with the Queen concerning me, wherein her Majesty taxing my Disobedience, swore (said she) before the Holy Sacrament, that she had enough against me to take away my life, but out of pure goodness would not push it to the utmost. I confess, that this Discourse made me so very angry, that I wrote a Letter immediately to *Monsieur de Brienne*, wherein I told him, that so long as my Charge and Fortune were only concern'd, I suffer'd without repining; but I could not forbear complaining, when I heard it said, That my Innocence was wounded, and that they would render me black and odious in the Queens eyes, of whom, upon this occasion, I begg'd nothing but Justice, and beseech'd her if I was
guilty,

guilty, to order the Parliament to Prosecute me, being ready to enter into Custody whenever she would let them know my faults. This was the sense of my Letter, though in longer terms: Monsieur *de Brienne* thinking it (it may be) too bold, would not shew it to the Queen; and, as I think, only shew'd it to the Cardinal, which was not the thing I desired of him. In the mean time Marshal *de Bassompierre* (seeing that all they could say to me till then, had not made me alter my Design, and being commanded by the Queen to resolve dishonorably to take my Place, after he had so often engaged his word to the contrary) was strangely uneasie, and endeavored every day, by a thousand different ways, to render me less obstinate. In fine, being (as he said) extreamly press'd by the Queen, he gave my Wife three summons to receive his Mony, and in the third to give him a full Acquittance: She answered, That she was ready to give him a Receipt, provided that he would bring her all the Mony. This put him to more trouble, having not the fourth part of the Sum, and all his intention being to consign it in Paper by
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the favor of Monsieur d'Emery: He demanded to see my Letter of Attorney, and upon their refusal (which was because they thought he ask'd it only to prolong time) he said, That if he did not shew it him within four days, he would consign it into the Exchequer, and thereupon entred upon the Charge. In this extremity, though I was yet in the same mind that I was in at the beginning, I found all my Friends of a contrary Opinion, who remonstrated to me, That it was to lose both my Place and my Money upon Trust, since if I let him consign it into the Exchequer (which he would only do by Writing) 'twas as if I should throw my Money into a Gulf from whence I could never redeem it: That I had to do with an old Man, an Officer of the Crown and a refin'd Courtier, whom it was impossible for me to dispossess so long as he liv'd, and that after his death I should never get into my Place again, if I was not well with the Court: That my disobedience would make them drive things to the last, and that I saw very well that he, whom they had put in over my head, was too old to answer my Resentments, and a dishonest Man, that having so many times

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broken

broken his Word, would willingly become the Instrument of all the Cruelties they would exercise against me. All these Reasons added to the consideration of a Wife big with Child, and three young Children, whom I might make miserable by my death, made me at last yield; and I thought, that whatever reason I might have in my design, the Opinion of so many prudent and generous Persons, ought to be preferred before my own. So that I acquainted Monsieur *de Brienne*, that I was ready to obey and to receive my Money, and he promis'd me from the Queen all that he had propos'd to me the day that he had demanded my Resignation. Upon this, I gave my Letter of Attorney to my Wife, after having protested, that they said that it might sometime be serviceable to me, to which (to say the truth) I scarce gave any credit; and if I did keep my Resignation, 'twas only because I had at the beginning engaged not to give it; and not out of any hopes, that there might ever happen so great a Change as to get any advantage by it, having never devoted my self to any but the Queen; and finding my self ruin'd in her good Opinion, I am irrecoverably lost so long

long as she is in Power; and when the King comes to be at Age to govern himself, there will be so great a disproportion betwixt his Age and mine, that I can never hope for access to, or familiarity with him.

What pass'd in my Affairs after what I have above related, is so well known to the World, that it would be a very tedious Discourse, if I should exaggerate the Frauds of Marshal *de Bassompierre*, the Weaknesses of Monsieur *de Brienne*, and the Delays and Breaches of Promise the Ministers were guilty of. I have, it may be, already insisted too long upon things not very important; but as I made this Discourse only for my Relations and very particular Friends, they will have the Goodness to excuse the Faults therein, and though it seem not very Eloquent, they will at least find it full of Sincerity and Truth: I shall be extremely glad, if it give them any Satisfaction, and shall have obtain'd the Principal End I propos'd to my self, if they acknowledge that in many things I have been more Unfortunate than Imprudent; and that in those wherein I

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have been deficient, 'twas out of the
Principles of Generosity and Fidelity,
from which I will never deviate, though
they have not been attended with Suc-
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